

# CONVENTION MAKES HISTORY

AFL CIO

*American*

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JANUARY 1958  
TWENTY CENTS



# FEDERATIONIST



# *The New Year*

By George Meany

**A**MERICAN LABOR faces unafraid the challenges and problems of 1958. We recognize the enormity of the problems. We shall not allow ourselves to fall into a deluded sense of false security.

The combination of a faltering domestic economy and Russian scientific advances poses for the United States in 1958 a situation as crucial, in its own way, as Pearl Harbor.

The Kremlin has beaten the free world into the stratosphere. Russia's successes with satellite launching makes it clearly apparent that she possesses the scientific ability to launch an intercontinental ballistics missile.

The United States at this crucial juncture in our history must face up to the truth regarding our international situation.

If we clearly see the facts of life as they are, we will realize that our No. 1 job is to build up our military strength to the point where it is at least equal to that of the Soviet Union. At the same time we must continue to aid those other nations of the free world which are likewise marked for domination under the Communist plans for world conquest.

That means, first of all, governmental expenditures. The idea that the Communists fear an American balanced budget more than an arsenal of 1958-type weapons is ridiculous. America can afford the cost of preparedness. American workers are prepared to shoulder their just share of that cost. But we insist that it be apportioned on the basis of equal sacrifice and that all segments of American life bear their proper share of the burden.

In our concern with the international situation, we cannot overlook the economic facts of life. The American economy is not healthy. Rapidly rising unemployment and the growing gap between our ability to produce and our ability to consume testify to this.

Increased governmental defense expenditures can relieve the situation temporarily. But the basic solution will not come until the Administration recognizes that the long-run good health of our economy depends upon consumer spending and consumer buying power.

Only improvements in wages and progress in building a better standard of living for all Americans can provide our economic system with the broad base that it must have for widespread prosperity.

At the collective bargaining table, the unions of the AFL-CIO will be seeking improved contracts which will not only better meet the needs of organized workers but which will, at the same time, aid the entire economy.

We will also be pressing for legislation that will adequately protect the funds of trade union members which they have invested in health and welfare plans. We will fight for federal aid for school construction, for an improved minimum wage law, for a labor-management relations act based on fairness and justice, for badly needed improvements in our social security law.

In each of these legislative campaigns the American labor movement will be guided by the firm belief that "what is good for America is good for organized labor."

Firm in that belief and determined in our attitude, we in the AFL-CIO face 1958 in a spirit of resolution, determination and confidence.



American

# FEDERATIONIST

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JANUARY, 1958

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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## American Tradition

The greatest of all American traditions is the simple tradition of freedom. From our earliest days as a people, this tradition has provided us with a faith to live by. It has shaped what Americans have done and what they have dreamed. If any one word tells what America really is, it is that one word—freedom.

This is a word that is eternally growing broader. If any single thing gives us reason to have confidence in the infinite future of the American people, it is the fact that this most basic of our traditions is capable of infinite expansion. It does not limit us. On the contrary, it forever invites us to grow—to see beyond the horizon, to look ahead to a fairer and a brighter day, to develop and to strengthen the noble concept of brotherhood by which we live.

I feel confident that the American tradition will flourish in the future as it has in the past. That tradition is something that lives inside of us. It is not a set of laws, and freedom itself is not simply the absence of restraint. Rather, it is an abiding inner faith that cannot be limited by doubt or by confusion or by fear.

The secret of the American tradition is freedom—freedom unabridged and unadulterated, freedom that applies to everybody in the land at all times and places, freedom for those with whom we disagree as well as for those with whom we do agree. And the secret of freedom is just courage.

Freedom rests on courage, and courage rests on faith—on faith in ourselves and faith in our fellows, on faith that the thing which we believe in and which we live by is immortal and everlasting, a fundamental truth of the universe with which we move on toward the future.

Bruce Catton.

### OUR FRONT COVER

The front cover photograph was snapped seconds after the convention's unanimous reelection of President George Meany. Vice-President Hayes, who had been presiding during the election, is seen shaking Mr. Meany's hand. Other leaders on the platform applaud. This striking picture was shot by veteran labor photographer Frank Alexander.

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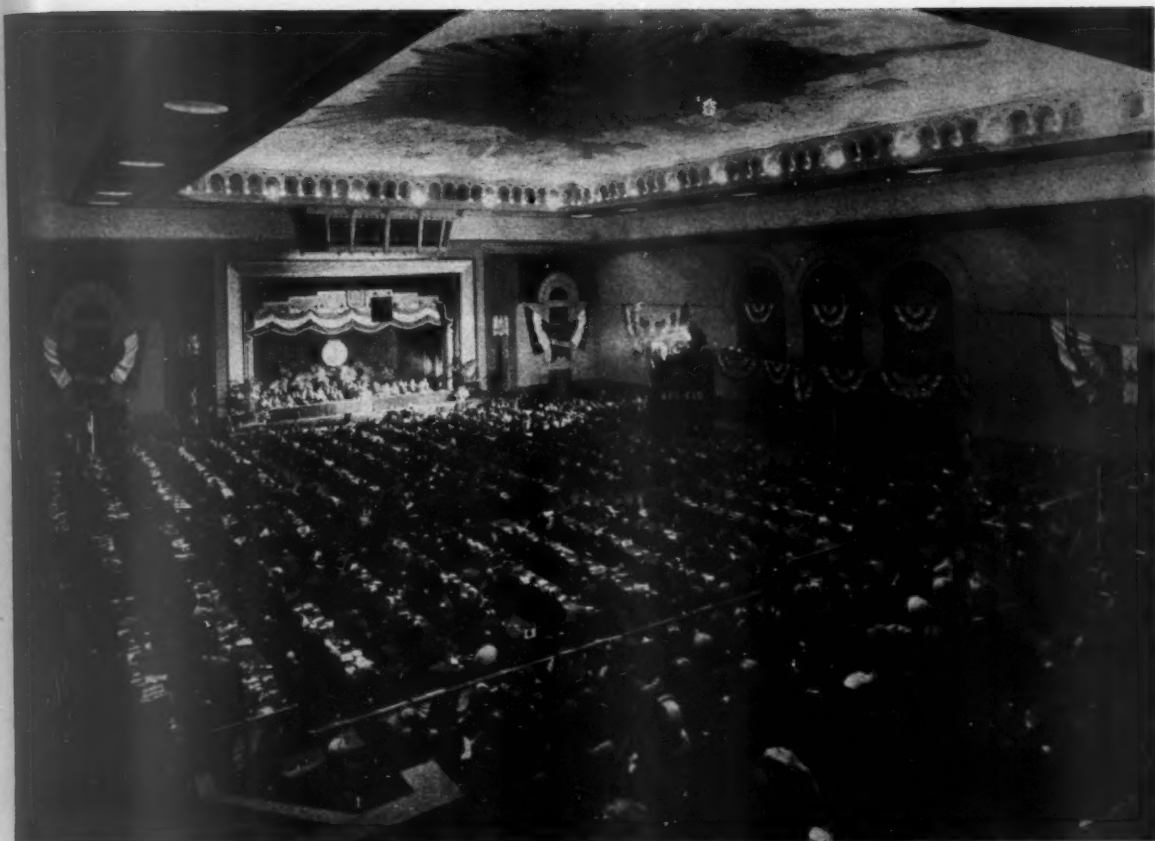


*President Meany holds his gavel aloft on the first morning of what proved to be a history-making convention. In his keynote speech he told the delegates that American labor is a group "second to none in importance in peace and in war and in times of national crisis." And in the final minutes of the convention, following his unanimous reelection, he said: "I am confident, as the result of this convention, as the result of the actions taken here, that we have the machinery of the trade union movement in good shape—that it is ready to move forward. It may not move as fast at all times as we would like it to move, but it will always move forward."*

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JANUAR





Attendance was excellent throughout the merged labor movement's second convention.

# *A Working Convention*

By **HENRY C. FLEISHER**

*AFL-CIO Director of Publications*

**T**HE second AFL-CIO convention wound up December 12 after six days of intensive sessions in which it performed the "disagreeable task" of expelling three unions with corrupt leadership and the more satisfying job of building a sound and militant program for American labor in the two years ahead.

When the final gavel came down, the 908 dele-

gates from 129 international unions, thirty-four state bodies and a host of local bodies and local unions had adopted over 150 policy resolutions on subjects ranging from the McClellan committee—which it discussed critically—to the weather in Atlantic City, which had been continuously bad until the last day of the convention.

As a final action the convention reelected Pres-



Recording the votes as convention took action on corruptly influenced unions.

ident George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler and twenty-five of the twenty-seven vice-presidents. Elected to fill the vice-presidencies formerly occupied by Herman Winter of the Bakery Workers and John F. English of the Teamsters were President Peter T. Schoemann of the Plumbers and Pipefitters and President Paul L. Phillips of the Papermakers and Paperworkers.

Vice-President Walter P. Reuther nominated Mr. Meany, hailing his "firm and dedicated leadership" and describing him as "a good plumber, a great trade union leader and my good friend."

Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler was nominated by President James B. Carey of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, who commended him as a "dynamic partner and a superb fighter for labor's limitless future."

As the convention moved toward its final minutes, President Meany, in his acceptance speech, spoke frankly and quietly with the delegates. The AFL-CIO, he said, had made a "tremendous amount of progress" toward complete unity during the past two years. To his attentive audience he recalled that the convention had heard "enough of corruption and ethical practices"—a major field of action during the sessions.

"The important thing about it," he continued, "is that we have demonstrated that we are reluctant to throw people out of the house of labor.

"We do it only when there is no other way. We do it in the full knowledge that it presents dangers

to us, but with the complete conviction that in the long run labor will be better off for what we have done here this week."

Then the AFL-CIO president turned, as it were, from the surgery of the past week to the needs and opportunities of the future.

Labor, he said, "must stick to its knitting, stick to the simple purposes of the trade union movement—build on more achievements to the achievements of the past \* \* \* in the American old-fashioned way.

"You organize so that workers can collectively impress the fact on the employer that they are entitled to a fair share of the wealth produced by this system—by investment capital, management, employer and labor. We have no argument with the system. We just want our share, because we know the system cannot continue to work unless we get our share."

It all comes back to a "simple, basic purpose," President Meany went on. "If we organize well, if we bargain well, we will build up the standards. From those built-up standards will flow the benefits to the community, to society as a whole, to the nation as a whole, and finally to all free peoples in all parts of the world."

And so, as the convention came to its end, the focus changed from labor's own serious internal problems to the needs and wants of the country's workers in such fields as legislation, economics, politics, international relations and community relations.

Throughout many of the sessions, the ethical

On many occasions delegates rose and applauded.



practices issue had been paramount. Working on recommendations from its special eight-man Appeals Committee, headed by President Alex Rose of the United Hatters, the convention:

1. Voted by almost 5 to 1 to expel the International Brotherhood of Teamsters for failure to meet the ethical standards set forth in the AFL-CIO's constitution and codes.

2. By about 7 to 1, voted to expel the Bakery and Confectionery Workers if the AFL-CIO Executive Council had no grounds for believing the union would clean house by March 15, 1958. After various unsatisfactory communications from President James G. Cross and other union leaders, the Council put the expulsion into effect.

*After the convention ended, the AFL-CIO granted a charter to the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union, which was meeting at an Atlantic City hotel. Temporary president and secretary-treasurer of the new ABC union is Daniel E. Conway, a former vice-president of the expelled union. A story about the new union appears on Page 48.*

3. With only two unions opposing, voted to expel the Laundry Workers International Union for corrupt influences. Included in the ouster was the Cleaning and Dye House Union, which had merged with the Laundry Workers some months ago.

4. Voted unanimously to accept an Appeals Committee recommendation to restore to good standing the United Textile Workers, which had been suspended eight days earlier for corrupt practices. The union's officers have agreed to call a special convention, bar certain named officials from office and follow the instructions of an AFL-CIO monitor during the probationary period.

5. Voted to keep the Distillery Workers Union under probation during further efforts to clean up the organization under the direction and supervision of an AFL-CIO monitor.

Emphasizing AFL-CIO interest in the corruption issue, the convention gave full endorsement to the codes of ethical practices which the Executive Council had adopted during the past two years.



George Meany and Walter Reuther won new terms, and the convention elected two new Council members.

The convention, in a resolution on the McClellan committee, pledged AFL-CIO cooperation with "all proper investigations of criminal and corrupt influences in labor or management which are pursued with objectivity and fairness." But it voiced concern that the McClellan committee might permit itself to be used for "political retaliation" and as a "forum for the display of anti-union propaganda."

Sharpened efforts to combat state laws outlawing union security—the so-called "right to work" measures—and a call for revisions in the Taft-Hartley Act were included in the convention's legislative program.

Reacting to the legislative program voiced by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell in a speech to the convention, the delegates endorsed the proposal by Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois for full disclosure of financial data in health, welfare and pension programs.

The Executive Council was directed to study "what legislation may be desirable to aid the labor movement in achieving its legitimate aspirations" and to "oppose strongly all proposals which, under the pretext of protecting workers from corruption, seek in reality to weaken unions or to undermine their ability to fulfill their proper responsibilities."

Government intervention or supervision in in-

ternal union procedures and elections—attributed by many to Mitchell—were described in the convention statement as “unnecessary and unwarranted.” Undue reliance on government procedures, the AFL-CIO warned, can “sap the vitality” of unions and impair their “sense of responsibility.”

Major resolutions and discussion revolved around the issues of collective bargaining and the national economy, political education and organizing the unorganized. Collective bargaining efforts of affiliated unions, the resolution said, will be directed to continuing improvements in wages, hours, standards, benefits and working conditions.

“In the period ahead,” the convention said, “we will press particularly for higher wages to bolster present inadequate consumer buying power and restore needed national economic growth. While American labor will cooperate wholeheartedly in the national defense effort, no need has been demonstrated for any wage freeze or for any nationwide extension of the statutory workweek.”

Vice-President Reuther, head of the Auto Workers, who will be involved in major collective bargaining next spring, sharply rebutted statements attributed to Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas that the forty-hour week should be abolished in

the interest of national security. Noting that recession is growing and unemployment has climbed to 3,200,000, Mr. Reuther said that on the bargaining front labor “is not going to start a retreat.”

“If we mobilize our economy and achieve full production and full employment, then we will forge the weapons and the tools of peace necessary to push back the forces of Communist tyranny,” he declared.

When Mr. Reuther finished, President Meany commented:

“I think he has indicated without question the road that we have to follow.”

In a detailed statement on the world situation, the AFL-CIO rededicated the U.S. labor movement to “the preservation of peace and freedom throughout the world.” The “intensity of the basic conflict” between the free world and the Communist dictatorships, the statement said, increases as the Soviets use their first space satellites as “a black-mail weapon abroad, and step up military threats, diplomatic pressure and economic penetration in the Middle East, Africa and Asia.”

The resolution spoke out against colonialism and voiced support for the “aspirations of all colonial and oppressed peoples” to achieve “national independence and human freedom.”

## Officers for New Term

THE CONVENTION reelected George Meany as president and William F. Schnitzler as secretary-treasurer. As vice-presidents and members of the Executive Council, the convention named the men listed below:

Walter P. Reuther  
William C. Birthright  
David Dubinsky  
Emil Rieve  
Joseph Curran  
Joseph D. Keenan  
A. Philip Randolph  
Joseph A. Beirne  
Karl F. Feller

George M. Harrison  
James B. Carey  
Charles J. MacGowan  
William L. McFetridge  
M. A. Hutcheson  
L. S. Buckmaster  
Richard F. Walsh  
James A. Suffridge  
Paul L. Phillips

Harry C. Bates  
William C. Doherty  
David J. McDonald  
James C. Petrillo  
A. J. Hayes  
Jacob S. Potofsky  
Lee W. Minton  
O. A. Knight  
Peter T. Schoemann

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# ***Delegates Say No to Laws That Would Weaken Unions***

THE AFL-CIO FAVORS legislation to help the labor movement to achieve its legitimate aspirations, but it is emphatically opposed to "all proposals which, under the pretext of protecting workers from corruption, seek in reality to weaken unions or to undermine their ability to fulfill their proper responsibility."

A resolution embodying these principles was adopted by the Atlantic City convention after previous approval by the General Board, composed of the heads of all national and international affiliates.

Adoption followed declarations in support of the resolution's approach by AFL-CIO President George Meany, Vice-President Walter P. Reuther and Vice-President George M. Harrison.

The Executive Council was authorized to study and support "necessary and appropriate" laws to "aid the labor movement in combating racketeer infiltration" and resist those who seek to "despoil or exploit unions or union members."

The AFL-CIO nevertheless will resist any measure that in the pretense of "protecting" would actually "weaken or hamper" unions in achieving "proper and legitimate objectives," the resolution said.

Approval of the broad policy statement, which set forth principles but spelled out only a few details, followed the convention address by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, who had presented what he called the Eisenhower Administration's labor program for 1958.

Mr. Mitchell placed the Administration on record as opposed to a national "right to work" law, anti-trust action against unions and further restrictions on union political activity. He again endorsed AFL-CIO proposals for federal protection of employee welfare and pension plans. He proposed stricter financial accounting for union dues money.

He also spelled out a long list of proposals that would restrict secondary boycotts and picketing and seek to impose "democracy" in unions by requiring reports certifying that elections had been held by secret ballot.

## **FAVOR REAL PROTECTION OF WORKERS**

The resolution on legislation bypassed most such specific suggestions in favor of its simple declaration in favor of laws legitimately protecting workers and curing abuses. Total opposition was registered to proposals that would do damage in the "guise" of protecting.

For two years the AFL-CIO has demonstrated its "irrevocable determination to eradicate any and all corrupt influences," the resolution said.

"This is a matter which must be handled by the labor movement itself, and we will handle it.

"It is likewise the responsibility of the labor move-

ment to insure that union elections and internal procedures are fair and democratic, and that responsibility, too, we will discharge."

Government intervention or supervision in either of these fields is "unnecessary and unwarranted," the convention said, and "undue reliance on government can only sap vitality and impair the sense of responsibility."

The convention said it was "further determined that the Senate [McClellan] committee's disclosures of the grossly improper activities of officials of a few unions shall not be made the pretext for the enactment of broadside anti-union measures irrelevant to the disclosed abuses."

The General Board report had reemphasized its awareness that many who talk about the elimination of evil intend to pass laws hampering labor. This drive will be "resisted to the uttermost," the statement continued, and the report condemned both the anti-labor "right to work" proposals and anti-trust laws and "proposals to further restrict picketing and boycott activity."

## **DOUGLAS PROPOSAL ENDORSED**

The convention specifically endorsed the revised welfare fund bill sponsored by Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois. It said labor has no objection to legislation authorizing the Labor Department to publish union financial reports already required under the Taft-Hartley Act.

President Meany pointed out that the resolution was deliberately framed as a "broad policy" declaration because "when you get into legislative work you find that a bill you liked one day you do not like the next day because somebody has amended it."

Mr. Meany said that he saw "a great deal" in Secretary Mitchell's proposals "that I personally am very skeptical about and don't like."

He was "very skeptical" about anti-picketing laws, he said, that "could run to the point where the non-union employer, the substandard employer, would have a special protection" and the right of picketing as an "exercise of the right of free speech" would be negated.

Mr. Meany scored employer resistance to legislation which would require full disclosure of welfare fund finances.

"The attitude of the employers—that only funds which are trusted by unions need this sort of disclosure legislation—is completely ridiculous," he declared. "My memory would indicate that in practically every case where we have had trouble, there has been either employer administration solely or employer and union administration.

"The need is to protect these funds, and it doesn't

make any difference under whose administration they are, they should be protected. This should apply to all of the funds, no matter who is administering the fund.

"The idea of this legislation is quite simple. The idea is that by disclosing all the information—in other words, the cost of buying the coverage, the insurance companies' retention fee or retention level, the agency fee for placing the insurance, the agency fee where a servicing agency is used to service the welfare plan—that if this information were available to the potential beneficiaries of the plan and to the public, it would go a long way toward helping to keep these plans run properly.

"That is the intent of the legislation, to protect the beneficiaries of the plan. And who are the beneficiaries? They are the people who earn the money that goes into the plan. Pension deductions from the payroll, whether by agreement or not, that are set aside into a fund are part of the wages of the man who works. They are deferred wages, they are wages held in escrow, they are wages laid aside. Call it anything you like, it is for the protection of the beneficiary who earned the money."

## ***Convention's Resolution on New Laws***

TEXT OF RESOLUTION ON LABOR LEGISLATION ADOPTED BY CONVENTION

THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE has given consideration to the resolution on new labor legislation referred to it by the AFL-CIO General Board and has given consideration also to the proposal advanced by Secretary of Labor Mitchell in his speech before this convention. The committee recommends the following resolution for adoption by this convention:

During the past two years and most recently and decisively at this convention, the AFL-CIO has demonstrated its irrevocable determination to eradicate any and all corrupt influences from its ranks. This is a matter which must be handled by the labor movement itself, and we will handle it. It is likewise the responsibility of the labor movement to insure that union elections and internal procedures are fair and democratic, and that responsibility, too, we will discharge.

Government intervention or supervision in either of these fields is unnecessary and unwarranted, and undue reliance on government can only sap vitality and impair the sense of responsibility.

We are further determined that the Senate committee's disclosures of the grossly improper activities of officials of a few unions shall not be made the pretext for the enactment of broadside anti-union measures irrelevant to the disclosed abuses.

At the last session of Congress, the AFL-CIO supported the Douglas bill (S. 2888) to require full disclosure of welfare fund finances, whether these funds are administered by unions alone or by unions and employers jointly or by employers alone. Thus far this

Vice-President Reuther ridiculed Washington "politicians" who make "pious speeches about how they love free unions and collective bargaining" but advocate laws to weaken collective bargaining.

"We draw a sharp line between cleaning up and breaking up" the labor movement, he said. He warned that enemies of labor are "marshaling and mobilizing" a campaign to exploit the corruption issue that "will make 1946 look like a dress rehearsal."

"We are equal to that challenge, but we are equal to it only if we stand together," he said.

Mr. Reuther appealed for subordination of "little pet peeves" among unions.

Vice-President Harrison, who is president of the Railway Clerks, warned that the convention was meeting "under the most difficult circumstances."

"I am one who believes that the McClellan committee was established for the purpose of developing sufficient stench among labor unions to air-condition the public mind for restrictive and punitive legislation," he said. "This far they have done a good job in that direction."

legislation has failed of enactment because some employers have declared themselves unwilling to reveal what they are now doing with the welfare funds they administer; but we shall continue to support such legislation.

Unions are now required by the Taft-Hartley Act to file annual reports with the Department of Labor on their finances, and the new reporting forms prescribed by that Department are so unnecessarily complex that this convention has gone on record as urging their simplification. We would, however, have no objection to legislation making these reports public.

The AFL-CIO will also be prepared to support such other legislative measures as may be necessary to strengthen the ability of the American trade union movement to fulfill its responsibility and to achieve its proper and legitimate objectives. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This convention reaffirms support for the Douglas bill (S. 2888) and directs the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO to give continuing study to what legislation may be desirable to aid the labor movement in achieving its legitimate aspirations, and authorizes the Executive Council to support any such measures as it finds to be necessary and appropriate. The convention directs the Executive Council strongly to oppose all proposals which, under the pretext of protecting workers from corruption, seek in reality to weaken unions or to undermine their ability to fulfill their proper responsibilities.

# ***Program to Halt Downtrend Wins Delegates' Approval***

A DETAILED PROGRAM for pulling the national economy out of its downward drift, including a major revision of the country's tax structure, was spelled out in two resolutions approved by the Atlantic City convention.

The convention found cause for concern, if not alarm, in the situation that has developed since the downward movement began during the summer. AFL-CIO Vice-President Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, told the convention:

"We are getting in trouble for the same basic reason that we got in trouble in the period before 1929."

He cited new Department of Labor statistics showing that unemployment reached 3,200,000 in November, an increase of 23 per cent over the previous year.

Taking note of rising prices, Mr. Reuther said the present is the first time in history that the United States has had inflation under conditions "completely contrary to all the classical concepts." Instead of not enough goods and too many buyers, he explained, we have too great quantities of goods—or at least the ability to produce them—and not enough buyers.

"In most industries 15 to 20 per cent of productive capacity is idle," the UAW leader declared. "Industrial production is three per cent below last year and somewhat lower than it was two years ago. Retail sales have been falling.

"There were 2,500,000 unemployed in October—400,000 more than in the previous year. In November the number of unemployed persons covered by state-federal unemployment insurance systems was 40 per cent greater than in 1956. The Labor Department expects continued unemployment increases in the weeks ahead."

The AFL-CIO program for shaking the economy out of the doldrums emphasized the need for resumption of economic growth and an improved relationship between the country's ability to produce and its capacity to consume—all in the realization that the national security program must be reevaluated and defense spending increased, if warranted, "regardless of costs or economic trends."

As approved by the delegates, the program called for improvements in wages, salaries and fringe benefits to provide the foundation for growing mass markets capable of absorbing a rising volume of goods and services, and also to provide workers with a fair share of the fruits of increasing efficiency.

Most of these improvements could be granted, the resolution noted, without price increases—and in many cases could be accompanied by price cuts.

The convention further called for reversal of the government's tight money policy to make funds available,

at lower interest rates, to home owners, home buyers and small business, and "to permit the national economy to resume its growth, which is the basis of improved living conditions and national strength."

The pricing policies of dominant corporations in key industries, the resolution asserted, must be put under the spotlight of public attention as a move toward developing policies aimed at curbing excessive profit-margin pricing practices—and thus achieving a relatively stable price level.

The federal tax structure, the convention declared, should be overhauled to provide "a more equitable basis" for raising revenue and to strengthen consumer buying power in a time of economic decline. State and local tax structures, the delegates said, should be revised with recognition of ability to pay.

As the tax system now stands, the resolution pointed out, it works a serious hardship on all low and moderate income families, especially those where the income comes from wages.

In calling for relief for low and moderate income groups, the convention said that "perhaps the simplest" step would be to raise personal income tax exemptions from the present \$600 to \$700.

To regain the lost revenue—and more—the convention urged the closing of loopholes and the elimination of escape clauses which, it was estimated, would yield about \$9.2 billion in additional income. These ranged from elimination of the income-splitting tax provision estimated to save upper income families \$3.5 billion a year to repeal of the special relief for dividend income and requiring the withholding of taxes on dividend and interest income.

Other recommendations included repeal or reduction of inequitable federal excise taxes, state sales taxes and local payroll taxes, revision of estate and gift tax legislation, easing the tax burden on small business and opposing the proposed "millionaires' amendment" which would place a top limit on the power of government to tax individuals or corporations.

## **PER CAPITA RAISED**

PER CAPITA payments to the AFL-CIO were raised by the Atlantic City convention to five cents per month per member from national and international unions. The figure had been set at four cents per month by the 1955 merger convention, but later a voluntary assessment of one cent per month was accepted.

For directly affiliated local unions the convention set the new per capita at \$1 a month. The former figure was eighty cents per member per month.



# Parley Urges U.S. School Aid

FEDERAL AID is the only way to meet the present grave crisis in the nation's schools, the second AFL-CIO convention said in a major policy declaration.

"The launching of the Soviet satellites," the parley asserted, "has called forcefully to the attention of all Americans what should have been painfully clear for years. The shameful neglect of our educational system has led to a deterioration that threatens our way of life and our very existence."



Selma Borchardt of the Teachers spoke.

The convention sounded a warning against too much emphasis on scientific education at the expense of other important branches of learning.

"Our entire educational system needs strengthening," the delegates said. "Our national and international needs call for trained people in the arts and humanities as well as the sciences. We need trained diplomats and economists and political scientists and language

experts as well as physicists and engineers.

Supporting a "realistic" program of federal aid to education to relieve the critical classroom shortage, the convention said that, with proper safeguards against interference with local schools, the federal government has a responsibility to provide aid for public school construction, for public school teachers' salaries, for scholarships, to combat illiteracy at all levels and for health and welfare services for all children.

The conclave also called for an expanded vocational education program "attuned to the needs of a changing technology," a broad program of federal scholarships for higher education in the sciences and the humanities, and continuation and expansion of the federal school lunch program.

Reaffirming support for a Labor Extension Service in the U.S. Department of Labor, the delegates said this unit would "provide service and material comparable to those provided through the Department of Agriculture to farmers and to businessmen through the Department of Commerce."

In a resolution on raising teacher standards, the convention declared that "the quality of the education provided for the 32,000,000 American children enrolled in our primary and secondary schools largely reflects the professional qualifications of the men and women who teach them."

It called on affiliated AFL-CIO unions and central bodies "to continue and to extend their efforts to rectify the deplorable salary and working conditions of our teachers," through legislative action at state, local and

federal levels and through other appropriate means.

"Clearly the free public school system for which organized labor has fought for more than 100 years, in order to achieve equal educational opportunities for all children, is in jeopardy unless teachers' standards are immediately and drastically improved," the resolution warned.

Affiliates were urged to increase their cooperation with the American Federation of Teachers so that it "can complete its mission to elevate the standards and the dignity of American teachers through their full participation in the trade union movement."

An amendment offered from the floor was adopted, declaring that the National Education Association, "dominated as it is by the school administrators," does not and cannot fulfill the need of teachers for a genuine union organization of their own. The amendment asserted that the NEA is, in effect, "a company union."

## Hemisphere Workers Are Pledged Support

GOVERNMENTS of all nations in the Western Hemisphere were urged by the AFL-CIO convention to "give labor representatives a greater voice in the formulation and execution of their economic policies and programs." At the same time the convention pledged continuing active support to the workers of the Americas through the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers.

The delegates approved a resolution on inter-American relations which said:

"The economic difficulties at present experienced by so many Latin American countries stem precisely from the failure to extend to the great mass of agricultural, mining and industrial workers a fair share of the benefits gained by the land owners, local industrial concerns and foreign investors."

Warning that the Communist threat "has never been as dangerous as it is now" in a number of countries, the resolution said that Communist "popular front" tactics are "particularly dangerous" in those countries where workers suffer under military dictatorships and totalitarian police regimes.

The resolution urged the U.S. government to give, within the limits of "diplomatic propriety and the accepted principle of non-intervention," moral, political and every other form of available support to those governments in Latin America based on the freely expressed support of the people and intent on promoting the democratic way of life.

"At the same time," the resolution continued, "we urge our government to refrain from giving any support—moral, political or otherwise—to the dictatorial regimes that still plague so many countries in Latin America."

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# Strong Foreign Policy Backed

A POSITIVE PROGRAM for preserving peace and strengthening freedom was laid down by the second biennial convention of the AFL-CIO. The delegates adopted a resolution that renewed and strengthened organized labor's confidence in the United Nations and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The convention pledged encouragement of a "greater interest, knowledge and participation in international affairs among our members and their families," with the objective of influencing U.S. foreign policy constructively.

The resolution urged this country, both in the United Nations and in direct relations with other lands, to pursue "every honorable means of achieving peace without compromising the basic principles that characterize the free world," principles which Soviet Russia refuses to recognize.

"The pursuit of peace through every honorable means is not a mere pious aspiration but a prime condition of survival," the resolution pointed out.

"The H-bomb, the intercontinental ballistic missile and the space rocket and satellites have brought the issues and events of foreign policy into every household. The stakes are as high as our physical existence and the existence and further flowering of the free way of life."

The convention examined in some detail the international crisis poised by the intensified basic conflict between the free nations and Communist expansion. The delegates warned that "the preservation of freedom requires the marshaling and pooling of resources on all fronts."

## STAND ON COLONIALISM REAFFIRMED

The fight against colonialism was outlined in the resolution, with American labor's traditional opposition restated. The work of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, both in direct contribution to the democratic development of peoples emerging from colonial rule and within the United Nations, was commended and endorsed. A warning was sounded that "the longer Western colonialism continues, the greater is the danger of Communist penetration of dependent countries."

The AFL-CIO program included revision and strengthening of U.S. foreign policy so as to recapture the initiative, and mobilization of our own human and material resources, in coordination with those of friendly nations, to meet the challenge of growing Soviet power.

The convention called for mobilization of moral resources, including the elimination of discrimination at home. A "bold global attack" to wipe out sources of Communist power in underdeveloped states, the resolution said, must be launched through technical, cultural and economic aid channeled, when possible, through the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

"We salute the ICFTU as the instrument through which the world's free workers can assist each other," the resolution said, "and make their contributions to the preservation of peace and the advancement of freedom and human dignity."

"We are proud that, as it continues to grow, the ICFTU is becoming an ever more effective means for the protection and advancement of workers' rights and interests."

Support was pledged to strengthen and enhance the ICFTU and its Western Hemisphere arm, the ORIT. Affiliates were urged to back AFL-CIO efforts to meet the pledge of \$1,000,000 to the ICFTU International Solidarity Fund, and the AFL-CIO Executive Council was commended for its decision to support ICFTU plans to set up a trade union training center in Africa.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, who first proposed that the AFL-CIO establish a training program for African trade unionists, took exception to what he called its "abandonment."

Replying to this charge, President George Meany made clear that the program was not abandoned but had been extended in cooperation with the ICFTU and the British Trades Union Congress so that fifty to 100 students will be trained, instead of the eight under the original plan.

## LABOR'S VOICE MUST BE HEARD

Mr. Meany asked the delegates, in considering the resolution, to realize the nature of the opposition which comes from the Soviet Union and which he has experienced recently at the United Nations General Assembly as a member of the U.S. delegation assigned to the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee.

Soviet spokesmen on this committee, Mr. Meany told the convention, maintain that there are no genuine Hungarian refugees from Communist terror but only "a lot of thieves, criminals and worse who should be driven back home." And the only interest the U.S. had in opening its doors to 30,000 of the homeless refugees, he said the Russians allege, is to get agents to spy on the Soviets.

"Expect no reason, expect no logic, expect no decency from this enemy," he warned. "Let us do what we can to carry out the spirit of this resolution. If our nation is going to do this job, then labor must be heard and its thinking must be reflected in the foreign policy of our nation. This is our job, the job of the American people and our nation."

AFL-CIO Vice-President James B. Carey told of some of the things the AFL-CIO has accomplished in cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Mr. Carey, who is also the president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, urged approval of the resolution.



At opening of the convention, the national anthem was sung. Lillian Hayes was the vocalist.

# SNAPPED AT ATLANTIC CITY



As the start of the conclave neared, activity at the registration desk was brisk. Delegation heads picked up signs for their tables.



President Lee Minton of Glass Bottle Blowers won another term on Council.

Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler (left) was warmly congratulated on a job well done by James Carey, an AFL-CIO vice-president.



Speeches they liked drew delegates' applause. Seen in front row, second from the left, is James Brownlow, president of Metal Trades.



Emil Rieve (left) of the Textile Workers Union of America listens to Arthur Goldberg, special counsel to AFL-CIO and Steelworkers' attorney.



Platform view shows President Meany speaking and, behind him, members of the Council and committee chairmen.

The vice-presidential candidates were nominated by President A. L. Spradling of Street Railway Employees, a former member of Executive Council.

Al Hartnett of IUE served on the Appeals Committee.



L. S. Buckmaster, president of the Rubber Workers, assailed the NLRB.



Andrew J. Biemiller (left) presents plaque to Joseph Schlossberg symbolizing a \$25,000 gift of William Green Foundation to the Religion-Labor Foundation.



Effects of expulsion of three unions are talked over by William L. McFetridge, BSEIU president, and Richard F. Walsh, head of the Stage Employees.

# ***Expanded Political Education Is Authorized by Convention***

EFFORTS to limit the right of the labor movement and its members to "participate in our democracy" are a menace to unions and a blow at the basic foundations of the American political and economic systems, the Atlantic City convention declared.

To prevent the domination of elections by "corporate wealth and vested interests," a convention resolution stated, "it is vital that the labor movement" be free to "assist financially candidates whose views on social justice deny them contributions from special-interest sources."

"We believe such assistance is proper and in the public interest," the delegates asserted.

The resolution cited a long list of achievements won by acting "in accordance with the highest and best traditions of the labor movement." These include the forty-hour week, social security laws, workmen's and unemployment compensation, protection of fair labor standards, civil rights and other measures contributing to "the welfare and prosperity of our nation."

The convention called on affiliated unions and local central bodies to "render all aid and assistance" to the policies and programs of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. COPE was authorized and directed to "expand its efforts" and give reciprocal aid in the political education work of local bodies.

## **COPE'S FUND CAMPAIGNS BACKED**

The resolution officially reaffirmed the "traditional non-partisan policy" of supporting "worthy candidates regardless of party affiliation" and of "judging candidates on the issues." It specifically endorsed the "annual COPE campaign for individual voluntary contributions" for political activity. Such campaigns, it was noted, have been conducted each year in furtherance of aiding candidates active in behalf of social justice.

The basic task, said the resolution, "remains the registration to vote of every trade union member and every adult member" of his family.

It is equally important to "continue to provide each member" of the AFL-CIO with "proper and objective information on which sound political judgments can be based." The distribution of COPE voting records on major legislative and political issues is "a primary step in this direction," the resolution declared.

Referring to efforts to apply legal sanctions against political participation by labor, the resolution "called to the attention of those who would seek to place us in this position" the fact that "the courts have, without exception, upheld our rights to participate."

The full text of the convention's resolution on political action was as follows:

"The American labor movement is deeply committed to the cause of political education and political action.

"This commitment stems first from our recognition of our responsibilities as citizens in a democracy and secondly from the attempt by the remaining hard core of reactionary business interests to use the processes of politics to weaken and destroy the trade union movement.

"As citizens and as steadfast defenders of the democratic faith, we are fully conscious of the need for participation in the political life of our nation. Vital questions which bear on the day-to-day welfare of our members and their families are decided at the ballot box.

"Indeed, as the race between democracy and totalitarianism becomes more intense, our very survival, as well as the victory of free men everywhere, depends upon wise decisions made by an informed electorate at the polling places.

"In fulfilling this commitment we are acting in accordance with the highest and best traditions of the American labor movement. Since the earliest days of united effort by working men and women, we have sought to better the lives of those we represent.

## **PROUD OF OUR ACHIEVEMENTS**

"We are proud of the achievements we have made. Among these we number the laws embodying the forty-hour week and guaranteeing the payment of a basic minimum wage; the laws which provide some measure of security to our aged; the workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation laws; measures providing for the education of our children; protection of fair labor standards; civil rights laws which at least provide a start toward guaranteeing all citizens their fundamental rights; and many other measures which have contributed to the welfare and prosperity of our community and our nation.

"We are conscious of the work yet to be done, of the challenges with which we are confronted in all phases of our national life. Upon decisions made by the leaders of our government depend such vital questions as the course of our economy in the years ahead and the future of our relations with the other peoples of the world.

"Those who seek to limit our right to participate in our democracy and who, through special interest and class legislation, attempt to weaken and destroy our organization strike blows not only at the labor movement. They strike at the basic foundation of our American political and economic systems. It is imperative that this challenge be met and overcome.

"We are proud of the contributions we have made to the political life of our country. We have given strength



and direction to the forces of liberal democracy. Much remains to be done, however, toward the achievement of an informed, politically alert trade union movement capable of fulfilling all of its responsibilities and obligations in the political arena.

"Our basic task remains the registration to vote of every trade union member together with every adult member of his or her family. We must make each member fully aware of the fundamental duty of citizenship, namely, the responsibility to participate.

"Equally important is the duty to be informed. We have sought and we will continue to seek to provide each member of our organization with proper and objective information on which sound political judgments can be based. We regard the distribution of voting records on issues of importance as a primary step in this direction.

"In order that elections may be free from the domination of corporate wealth and vested interests, it is vital that the American labor movement be in a position to assist financially candidates whose views and activities on behalf of social justice deny them contributions from special interest sources.

"We believe such assistance is right and proper and in the public interest, and we have therefore conducted each year a drive for voluntary contributions for this purpose from our members.

#### WORKERS NOT SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS

"We reject any suggestion that we are second-class citizens with fewer rights in politics than the multi-million-dollar corporate monopolies in the communications industry. We call to the attention of those who would seek to place us in this position the decisions of the courts which have, without exception, upheld our rights to participate.

"We must continue to rally support behind the liberals of both parties in Congress, the state legislatures and local governing bodies. We must continue to encourage them in their battles against the raids by special interests and on behalf of the public welfare.

"In area after area where organized labor has been united, has been able to cooperate with genuinely liberal political forces and has had top-quality candidates willing and able to campaign on meaningful platforms, labor and the liberal forces have been victorious.

"This has been true not only in the 1954 and 1956 Congressional elections but it has also been true in the special elections held in 1957. This policy has contributed to the better quality of candidates and to the liberalization of political platforms. It has given voters the opportunity to choose and has provided life to the democratic process.

"We express the hope that this development will continue, that in more and more areas voters will have the opportunity of exercising their political rights in an atmosphere of reason and judgment and in which political promises are sacred pledges.

"Unfortunately the Republican party, with a few but

growing exceptions, is still too often a willing and obedient servant of big business.

"The opposition to civil rights legislation by Southerners who dominate the Democratic party in Congress has tended more and more to alienate the Negro voters from their natural allies, the liberal Democrats of the North and West. Thus the anti-civil rights Southerners are depriving the Democratic party of one of the essential forces in the coalition that carried Roosevelt and Truman to victory and kept the New Deal and Fair Deal in office for twenty years.

"We shall not fail to meet our commitment to the cause of political education. We will not be deterred from our objective. We will continue to expand and broaden our work of political education and political action to insure that the freedoms we cherish will be strengthened and made more secure. Therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That this second convention of the AFL-CIO, the world's largest free trade union organization, reaffirms its dedication to the principle of non-partisan political education designed to protect and secure the legitimate economic and political aspirations of America's working men and women. To achieve this purpose we call upon each affiliated national and international union and each state and local central body to render all aid, assistance and support to the policies and programs of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education.

"We direct and authorize the Committee on Political Education to continue to expand its efforts in this direction and we further charge it with the responsibility of assisting, directing and coordinating the political education work of state, county and city bodies. We call upon it to provide all aid, assistance and cooperation commensurate with its resources to the political education and action activities of the affiliated national and international unions.

#### CHECK LISTS OF REGISTERED VOTERS

"We call upon all affiliates to take steps to develop programs in cooperation with the appropriate central bodies to check membership lists against the lists of registered voters in their community. We urge those not already participating to join our year-round program of good citizenship to make certain that all AFL-CIO members and their families are registered voters and remain registered voters.

"Working with our state and local central labor bodies, our affiliates must initiate programs and work with other groups for the reapportionment and redistricting of election districts in line with growth and shifts in population to insure fair and adequate representation for all citizens.

"We commend the program launched in 1956 of providing each member of our organization with the voting records of their elected federal officials, and we urge and recommend that this program be continued in 1958.

"We recognize the contribution that has been made

to our efforts by the women of our trade union movement, and we call upon all affiliates to render every possible assistance in the further development of programs that will utilize their skills and energies.

"We call upon the officers of our affiliated organizations to make political education a family affair by encouraging all our members, their wives and other members of the family to take an active part in the political life of their community during and between election campaigns.

"To finance the program herein set forth, we urge all affiliates to participate actively and energetically in the annual campaign for individual voluntary contributions. We call upon them to assume their full share of organizational and moral responsibility by meeting such reasonable goals as may be established.

"We again declare our traditional non-partisan policy of (a) supporting worthy candidates regardless of their party affiliation, (b) judging candidates based upon where they stand on the issues, as those issues affect the welfare and well-being of our nation and its people. We will cooperate wherever feasible and practicable with

other groups which have the same ideals and aims as our organization.

"We rededicate ourselves without reservation to the defense of the principles of our democracy which have made our country strong and great. These principles we regard as beacons in a world of change, and we reaffirm them as the best means of achieving a secure land at peace in a world in which each man and woman has the fullest possible opportunity to achieve the stature and dignity with which they have been endowed by our Creator."

## COPE WOMEN ARE PRAISED

WOMEN VOLUNTEERS of the Committee on Political Education were warmly commended by the AFL-CIO convention for their contributions to "the cause of democracy." The Women's Activities Department of COPE and the women who have been taking part in labor's non-partisan registration and get-out-the-vote drives "are rendering invaluable service to the labor movement and to the country," the delegates said in a resolution on women's political activities.



Secretary Schnitzler gets hearty handclasp from George Richardson, sergeant-at-arms, as Harold Butler reacts happily to his chief's reelection.



Esther F. Johnson, secretary of AFGE, was a busy figure.



Commander Gleason of American Legion was a guest speaker.

## At the Convention



Youthful delegate was Fran Kaczmarek of Hotel Employees.



Mrs. Walter Reuther had a chat about recent projects of ICFTU with Secretary Jack Oldenbrook.



A. J. Barnhardt (left) of Railway Carmen and Michael Fox, president of Railroad Employees Department.



Secretary of Labor James Mitchell was welcomed by William Birthright, Walter P. Reuther and Al Hayes.



Jobs afloat concerned Paul Hall, who led the Seafarers' delegation.



HEW Secretary Marion Folsom was a speaker.



Delegates of United Garment Workers at their table. One who spoke against expelling Teamsters was Joseph McCurdy, union president.



President M. A. Hutcheson headed the sixteen delegates representing the Carpenters.

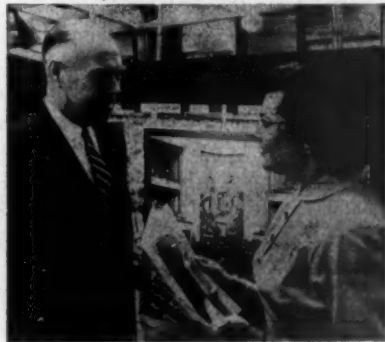


The economic picture didn't please OCAW's President O. A. Knight.

A moment of mirth was enjoyed by Virginia Tehas, secretary to President Meany, and Henry C. Fleisher, publications director.



U.S. Labor Department erected an informative exhibit. At the left is William Patterson. The young lady is Department's Bessie Friedman.





## LABOR CLEANS HOUSE

# Convention Expels Teamsters

EXPULSION of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters was voted by the AFL-CIO convention on the basis of findings that the union was substantially controlled or dominated by corrupt elements. Expulsion came on a roll-call vote after a three-hour debate on an Appeals Committee report sustaining the Executive Council decision that the union had failed to oust unethical and corrupt officers or investigate their conduct and had otherwise defied the ethical standards of the AFL-CIO.

Just before the roll-call, AFL-CIO President George Meany repudiated any suggestion of a "war" with the Teamsters following expulsion.

"There is no plan for a war at all," he said. "We hope it will never come."

Mr. Meany made it clear that the door was open for the union's return to the AFL-CIO as soon as it complies with the directives.

The vote in favor of expulsion was 10,458,598. Voting against the Appeals Committee recommendation were 2,266,497. Under the constitution a two-thirds majority was required for ouster.

Delegates of ninety-four international affiliates cast votes in favor of expulsion, twenty-one internationals voted against and four split their votes. Eight other internationals either did not attend the convention or failed to answer on the roll-call.

### DISCUSSION PRECEDES BALLOTING

The convention voted after Alex Rose, chairman of the Appeals Committee and president of the Hatters, and President Meany had spoken in favor of expulsion and spokesmen and supporters of the Teamsters had spoken against such action.

The Appeals Committee report was presented by Secretary John J. Murphy, general secretary of the Bricklayers. The committee held that the Teamsters had been given "adequate opportunity" to respond to charges and correct abuses and had "refused to do so." The report therefore recommended that findings of corrupt influences be confirmed and that the union be expelled from the AFL-CIO.

Vice-President Einar O. Mohn of the Teamsters made the official reply for his union, arguing that "sin is universal and ever-recurring." Speaking of Senator John L. McClellan, chairman of the Senate special committee investigating labor-management improprieties, Mohn said Senator McClellan's record and recent public statements "compel me to believe that the field he seeks to clean up will emerge torn asunder, bloody and weak—but perhaps ethical."

The Teamsters are a highly decentralized union, Mohn declared, and any conclusion that it is "substantially

influenced by corrupt influences" fails to show "an understanding of our makeup."

Secretary-Treasurer John F. English of the Teamsters repeated in debate much of the defense of his union and President-elect James R. Hoffa, a principal target of corruption charges, he had made at the Teamsters' convention at Miami Beach which elected Hoffa.

Hoffa has "done more for the Teamsters than any other man, including myself," English claimed.

"The penalty urged against the union is too severe," he said, adding that the expulsion proposal "makes my blood run cold."

A large delegation of the Teamsters, including members both of the old and the recently elected executive boards, sat as guests of the convention while the debate took place and heard spokesmen of six other unions rise to speak against the expulsion recommendation.

These included President Sal B. Hoffmann, Upholsterers; President Joseph P. McCurdy, United Garment Workers; Secretary-Treasurer Edward F. Carlough, Sheet Metal Workers; President Woodruff Randolph, Typographical Union; President George Q. Lynch, Pattern Makers, and Secretary-Treasurer Patrick E. Gorman, Meat Cutters.

Chairman Rose led the debate for the Appeals Committee by saying it was "precisely because we know the great role the Teamsters can play that we want a fraternal, clean Teamsters' organization as part of the labor movement."

"We are condemning a system which does not bring forward the best and work for the benefit of that organ-



Secretary John English of the Teamsters urged the delegates not to vote in favor of expulsion.



ization but to the benefit of Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa," he told the convention.

He didn't want to contradict Mohn about the McClellan committee, Mr. Rose said, "but I don't know whether the proceedings of the Teamsters' convention—the behavior, the arrogance, the defiance—were not even worse from the point of view of labor interests."

Defiance by the Teamsters' convention in electing Hoffa was "not an act of courage," Mr. Rose said. He added:

"It was defiance as an act of vulgarity and irresponsibility."

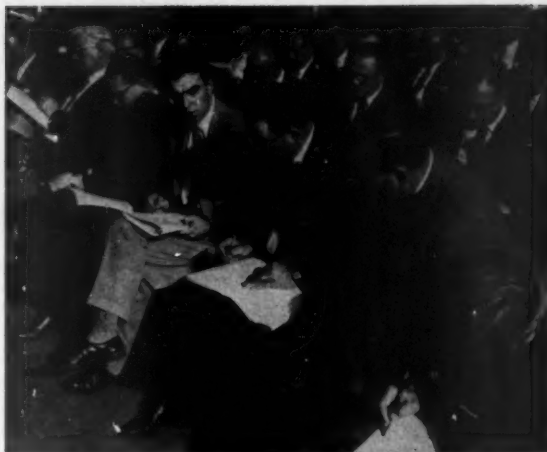
The Executive Council found the International Brotherhood of Teamsters guilty of a rejection of the basic principle set forth in the AFL-CIO's constitution, to which the Teamsters subscribed in 1955, that the AFL-CIO must be free from any corrupt influences.

The Teamsters could have remained in affiliation with the AFL-CIO by carrying out instructions to eliminate from international union office those who constitute corrupt influences and by accepting a special committee, appointed by the Council, with "authority to direct such further actions by the Teamsters Union" as might be required to wipe out corrupt influences.

The Appeals Committee told the convention:

"The Executive Council's action in suspending the Teamsters Union and its recommendation that the Teamsters Union be expelled is in no sense discriminatory and does not subject the Teamsters Union to unequal or unfair treatment. Indeed, any other action than that taken by the Council would, in the view of this committee, be unequal and unfair.

"The Teamsters Union was given adequate opportunity to respond to the charges against it on their merits. It refused to do so. The Teamsters Union was given adequate opportunity to correct the abuses and to eliminate the corrupt influences found by the Executive



Teamsters, sitting in as guests, record the votes as roll of unions is called. They left the chamber after parley's decision to expel their union was announced.

Council. It refused to do so. Any course other than that taken by the Council and recommended by it would be grossly unfair to other unions which have attempted both to answer the charges against them and to correct the conditions found by the Council to exist."

President Meany, closing the debate, answered briefly two charges from the floor—that the procedure had been faulty and that the Executive Council had acted as a "dictatorship." He also responded to Delegate Gorman of the Meat Cutters, who had spoken of his efforts to bring Hoffa and Mr. Meany together.

"That's true," the AFL-CIO president said.

But Hoffa never showed up.

"I am for the teamster," Mr. Meany told the convention. "I am for getting the teamster away from this corrupt control. And I say to you, right here and now, I have the door open. It was open until 11 o'clock last night. It will be open after you finish voting."

## ***Cross-Led Bakers Are Ousted***

THE BAKERY and Confectionery Workers Union led by James G. Cross was expelled from the AFL-CIO when Cross and his board cohorts refused to agree to clean-up directives. Earlier the convention had authorized the AFL-CIO Executive Council to oust the union unless it initiated immediate steps to eliminate corrupt influences, correct abuses and bar from office "those responsible for the abuses."

When Cross and his associates refused to comply, the Executive Council proceeded to make expulsion effective. President George Meany announced the union's ouster to the convention on its closing day.

The convention's vote empowering the Council to put the organization led by Cross out of labor's house unless it agreed to move immediately to clean itself up was 11,003,835 to 1,608,695. Convention debate and

action in the Bakery Workers' case came on the third day of the conclave.

Before the vote Cross hotly challenged the Appeals Committee report. He said that he had "every intention" of running for reelection as union president at a special convention which would be held in the near future.

"I am not corrupt or unfit," he asserted.

Cross was followed by President Emeritus Herman Winter, who attributed troubles in the union to "a lot of dissension and selfishness and jealousy." Mr. Winter was then an AFL-CIO vice-president.

Answering the Cross speech, Chairman Alex Rose of the Appeals Committee characterized the union president as "amazing and demagogic."

"There are two James Crosses—one that was and one



President Meany predicted the Council would carry out expulsion in ninety minutes, rather than ninety days, if union persisted in its refusal to comply.

that is. The first one knows how to appeal, but the second James Cross did not speak today. The second James Cross is in the racket of unethical behavior, of extravagance, of conflict of interests, of corrupt influence, and I may say of terrorism within the organization itself.

"It is this James Cross that we are speaking about in our report today. It is this James Cross who is today a liability to his membership and to the entire labor movement. It is this James Cross who in the eyes of the public, in the eyes of public opinion, stands as a symbol of selfishness, of corruption and of betrayal of labor trust."

President Meany supported the report of the committee and the Executive Council's conclusions. He charged the Bakery Workers' president with punitive action against union officials who opposed him and with lack of good faith.

Speaking of the defense Cross had offered in his address to the convention, Mr. Meany said:

"You heard a remarkable talk. But I can tell you frankly that this union is in a bad way if he continues to run its affairs, whether from one of his two homes in Palm Beach or from his other mansion, in conjunction with the employers' association or with George Stuart [former vice-president] or others of that ilk."

Mr. Meany told the convention how he first learned from Curtis Sims, ousted secretary-treasurer of the Bakery Workers, that he planned charges against Cross, and how all locals were notified by Sims.

The president of the AFL-CIO said that the Bakery Workers in their last convention had struck out procedures for trial of charges against the president. Moreover, the board elected with Cross had cleared the president and found Sims guilty of counter-charges in hastily called and brief meetings.

The AFL-CIO was organized, Mr. Meany said, to make it "an instrumentality to serve workers, not to build up the personal affluence of an individual, to make him a big shot in the community or an expert on finance, as one of our former Executive Council members turned out to be.

"This is a workers' organization, and I don't know anything else about this business. Let's keep it that way."

On Thursday, December 12, President Meany told the convention:

"In accordance with the action taken on Monday afternoon by this convention expelling the Bakery and Confectionery Workers from the AFL-CIO, such expulsion to be effective on or before March 15, 1958, the date to be determined by the Executive Council, unless the union in good faith initiated immediate steps, to the satisfaction of the Council, to eliminate corrupt influences and to correct the abuses set forth, the Bakery and Confectionery Workers were expelled from the AFL-CIO as of 9:30 this morning.

"It might be interesting to note that we had a telegram this morning from President Cross, setting forth in great detail that there was no intention of reprisals, and so on



James Cross and his wife walk out of the convention. Heavy vote against him followed speech which he made. He indicated his intention of remaining as president.

and so forth, and that they are going to give consideration to all of these problems at their convention. The telegram said there had been no such reprisals or intimidation and so on."

Mr. Meany paused at this point. Then he added:

## ***Laundry Workers Union Is Expelled***

REJECTION by the Laundry Workers International Union of AFL-CIO proposals for the eradication of corrupt influences was reported to the Atlantic City convention by the Appeals Committee, and after hearing a speech by Ralph T. Fagan, the union's president, and remarks by AFL-CIO President George Meany, the delegates by an overwhelming margin voted the union out of the merged labor movement.

The Appeals Committee said that the Laundry Workers' flat rejection of AFL-CIO cleanup recommendations constituted "further and conclusive proof of the lack of a sincere desire on the part of the present leadership of the union to eliminate corrupt influences."

The members of the union, the committee asserted, are honest and "are especially entitled to be represented

"Just as a coincidence, the wires of the United Press a few minutes ago indicated that all six local unions of the Bakery Workers in the San Francisco Bay area have been put under trusteeship as of this morning by President Cross for the crime of *lèse majesté*."

by a union with a clean, ethical and dedicated leadership because of the long history of low wages and substandard working conditions" characteristic of the laundry industry.

Leaders of the Laundry Workers, in rejecting the AFL-CIO's recommendation that a special union convention be held within ninety days, had advanced a claim that smaller locals could not afford to send delegates to such a meeting. The Appeals Committee said it was not impressed at all by this contention.

Alex Rose, head of the committee, had informed the union's representatives that he was "willing to explore the possibility of aiding small locals to be represented at the special convention." Even after this statement by Mr. Rose, the union stuck to its poverty claim.

## ***Parley Lifts UTW Suspension***

THE SUSPENSION of the United Textile Workers was lifted by the Atlantic City convention on recommendation of the Appeals Committee after a UTW committee gave assurances that the union would comply completely with AFL-CIO clean-up orders.

Chairman Alex Rose of the Appeals Committee noted with satisfaction that "the same road that leads to expulsion can also lead back to the AFL-CIO."

Earlier the Appeals Committee had endorsed the Executive Council's finding that the union was dominated or substantially influenced by corrupt influences and backed the Council's suspension order.

The United Textile Workers must carry out the provisions of a statement its committee made to the Executive Council setting forth measures to be taken to set its house in order. The UTW group led by Acting President and Secretary-Treasurer Francis M. Schaufenbil declared its earnest desire to continue in the AFL-CIO family.

The clean-up forces in the union agreed to call a special convention within ninety days under the supervision of the special representative from the office of President George Meany. Peter M. McGavin, assistant to President Meany, has been acting as the union's monitor.

A copy of the Ethical Practices Committee's report on the UTW is to be supplied to every delegate to the convention, will be read into the record and will be printed in *The Textile Challenger*, the UTW's official publication.

## ***Distillery Union Gives Pledge to Clean Up***

A REPORT on the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers was made to the convention by AFL-CIO President George Meany. Probation will continue, he said.

"We have a commitment and stipulation on the part of the officers of this union that they will call a special convention to be chaired by someone designated by the AFL-CIO," he told the conclave.

"They pledge full compliance with the constitution of the AFL-CIO. They also pledge that at this special convention all of their delegates will be elected by secret ballot, that the delegates will be informed as to the full scope of the report of the Ethical Practices Committee and the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

"Under these circumstances the Council has decided to go along with this union to see if they can straighten themselves out. We will withhold any further action at the present time except to carry out the terms of the stipulation of supervising their affairs and running their convention, auditing their books and doing all of the other things that this stipulation calls for."

## ***DORFMAN APPEAL REJECTED***

THE CONVENTION rejected an appeal by Paul Dorfman from his ouster as financial secretary-treasurer of Directly Affiliated Local 20467, Waste Material Handlers, in Chicago. He had been expelled last July by AFL-CIO President George Meany after a hearing established Dorfman's failure to comply with the AFL-CIO constitution and its ethical practices codes.



# CONVENTION CAMERA



Wage-earners have no intention of retreating on the bargaining front, Vice-President Reuther emphasized.

H. L. Mitchell (left) of the struggling Agricultural Workers compared notes with M. P. Webster of Sleeping Car Porters.



Emil Mazey, secretary of the Auto Workers, had some words about the Kohler situation.



Experts in the international field are Jay Lovestone (left) and Irving Brown. Latter has toiled in Europe a long time.



David McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers, presented the reports of Committee on Resolutions.



Was Reedy (left), assistant to Secretary Schnitzler, and Joseph Lewis, secretary, AFL-CIO Union Label Trades Department.



Harm done by cabaret tax was target of Musicians led by James C. Petrillo.



John Brophy of the Industrial Union Department and his wife took a keen interest in events at the Atlantic City meeting.





David Dubinsky (left) of the Ladies' Garment Workers huddled with Jacob Potofsky, Clothing Workers' leader. Latter chaired the Labels Committee.

On appeals group was President Rollings of merged Missouri body.



Resolutions Committee's tasks occupied Lawrence Raftery of the Painters.



Students visiting the convention press room got a look at a reporter's story about to be sent to distant city.



Scheduling of Resolutions Committee reports was discussed by George Meany and George Harrison.



Joseph Keenan of IBEW served as Credentials Committee's secretary.

President William C. Doherty led the Letter Carriers' delegation. All postal groups asked better treatment for employees of Uncle Sam.



## Unions Will Push for Higher Wages

HIGHER WAGES will be sought by AFL-CIO unions in 1958. Pay increases are essential, the Atlantic City convention declared, if "inadequate consumer buying power" is to be bolstered and national economic growth restored.

"While American labor will cooperate wholeheartedly in the national defense effort," the delegates said, "no need has been demonstrated for any wage freeze or for any nationwide extension of the statutory workweek."

The convention said that affiliated unions will push for the transformation of advancing technology into a force for increased leisure through a shorter workweek without reduction of take-home pay.

Adequate protection for workers "against the strains of ill health, old age and irregular employment through improved health and welfare plans and programs for guaranteed employment" was another bargaining goal for affiliates approved by the delegates.

"The general economic climate has been deteriorating as we enter 1958," the resolution said, "and a decline in business activity is often reflected in tighter bargaining conditions. But the very fact of an economic slackening makes it doubly imperative that unions gain sizable wage increases to bolster consumer buying power and thereby

provide a needed stimulation for an upturn in the economy."

The resolution noted that all major economic indicators again disclose that a decline in levels of employment and business activity is now upon us.

"Most of America's basic industries are operating at levels 15 to 20 per cent below their capacity," it added.

The worsening of the general economic situation and pressures for wage cutbacks must be overcome by intensified bargaining, the delegates held.

The labor movement, the resolution continued, "cannot and will not rest on yesterday's laurels or yesterday's living standards."

Negotiating sights have been set on wage advances and other improvements, said the resolution, "not merely to benefit the millions of American workers and their families, but because we are well aware that collective bargaining is the most direct means for trade unions to exercise a constructive effect on the economy."

"We are secure in the knowledge that success in vigorous bargaining efforts will benefit the well-being of all the nation by contributing to the achievement of a dynamic, expanding balance between greater productive power and greater purchasing power."

## Redoubled Organizing Efforts Voted

REDOUBLED organizing efforts were pledged by the second convention of the AFL-CIO in a move "designed to bring trade unionism to every worker in America." Affiliated unions were urged to give all possible assistance and cooperation to other unions in their organizing campaigns. All organizations were asked to conduct their campaigns "in the true fraternal spirit of the trade union movement."

"Cooperative and mutual efforts in organizing will contribute to the greater strength and solidarity of the trade union movement and redound to the greater welfare of all workers," a resolution on organizing declared.

The convention took sober stock of the organizing record of the past two years and found the AFL-CIO had "fallen short of the hopes we had and the goals we set." But, it maintained, the record was far from one of failure.

As proof, it was noted there are more members in bonafide unions than at any time in history, 60 per cent of the more than 7,000 elections in which AFL-CIO unions took part were won and impressive gains were made in organizing in fields not covered by the National Labor Relations Board.

Some of the reasons why the organizing program launched at the founding convention two years ago fell short were ascribed to policies of the Eisenhower Administration.

"Property rights became more important than human rights," the resolution said.

As a result, it added, a powerful attack was mounted and launched on the labor movement.

"Such attacks are aimed not only at restricting and confining existing unions, but even more important, they are aimed at limiting the capacity of unions to grow in membership and strength."

Organizing has grown harder, the resolution declared, and has become "a struggle against business interests who have powerful governmental backing." The "full evil impact" of Taft-Hartley was another factor blamed for difficulties encountered in organizing.

Some success was noted in adjustment of jurisdictional problems that had barred organizational efforts.

In the South, the resolution observed, "we have better than held our own." A changing economic pattern in that part of the country was noted as a hopeful sign. Against this, however, is the "present hysteria over the civil rights issue, much of it artificially fanned by cynical newspaper editors, radio commentators and politicians."

The McClellan Committee investigations have been used with telling effect, the resolution said, against labor's organizing efforts.

Vice-President Joseph A. Beirne stressed the importance of the organizing resolution, especially as it affected white-collar workers. Unless there was planning,

he warned, the trade union movement could find itself "as America finds itself today in the eyes of the world scientifically, because it didn't plan, because it didn't spend money, because it didn't make us aware of this tomorrow."

The president of the Communications Workers also

observed that it was in "the grubby field of organizing that our greatest martyrs worked."

"It is in that tough, thankless job of encouraging people to join with us that we have made our movement as strong, as wealthy, as influential as it is today," he reminded the delegates present.

## ***Convention Salutes Strikers***

THE O'SULLIVAN and Kohler strikers were saluted by the second AFL-CIO convention. At the same time the two companies were castigated as "arrogant and despotic." The delegates lashed the employers involved in the two prolonged strikes for their use of the worst features of the Taft-Hartley Act to resist the workers' demands.

The convention also condemned the labor policy of Montgomery Ward, calling it "just as disgraceful as that company's refusal to obey a governmental directive during the last war." The Retail Clerks were pledged every assistance by the AFL-CIO, its departments and the labor press.

Vice-President James B. Carey, head of the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, blasted Montgomery Ward for its stand that wages should be "determined on a unilateral basis by the company." Mr. Carey and Vice-President Joseph D. Keenan, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, investigated the situation at the behest of the Executive Council.

The convention adopted a resolution calling for full moral and financial support for the strikers and renewed prosecution of the consumer boycott against products of the Kohler plumbing fixtures concern in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and the O'Sullivan rubber heel firm in Winchester, Virginia.

President L. S. Buckmaster of the Rubber Workers told the convention:

"It is about time union people began to realize the viciousness and the dangers inherent in 'right to work' legislation and the Taft-Hartley Act and in the National Labor Relations Board that has been handed to us in the last few years.

"We have found it impossible to go before the Board and get a remedy to this problem where the employer refuses to bargain in good faith. The Board is stacked against unions. It is stacked in favor of the employers in nearly every instance—and it is getting worse as time goes by."

The legal primary boycotts of scab-made products of the two firms, the resolution said, "is the sole major avenue open to the labor movement to show its continued solidarity with the Kohler and O'Sullivan strikers and its refusal to tolerate Nineteenth Century employer dictatorship in a Twentieth Century era of human progress."

Local 833 of the United Auto Workers has been on

strike against Kohler since April 5, 1954. The company has been found guilty of "repeated and flagrant unfair labor practices," the resolution related, but has refused to settle the strike or submit the issues to negotiation, mediation or arbitration.

Other resolutions adopted by the convention urged support of a boycott of Sunkist lemons produced by five California growers, backed the Retail Clerks in their negotiating efforts with Montgomery Ward and endorsed the drive for a \$1.25 hourly minimum for 6,000 employees of the Bloomingdale and Stern Brothers department stores, who are members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

The Packinghouse Workers won endorsement of their "don't buy" campaign against Sunkist lemons produced by the Santa Clara Lemon Association, Somis Lemon Association, Oxnard Lemon Association, Seaboard Lemon Association and Carpenteria Lemon Association.

## ***Farm Income Must Rise, Resolution Declares***

HIGHER EARNINGS for "all who work in agriculture" will continue to have the vigorous support of the American labor movement, the second constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO pledged. The drop in farm income which has occurred in recent years was condemned.

"We seek an American standard of living for the farm proprietors who by their skill, labor and investment produce our food and fiber," the convention asserted in a resolution on farmer-labor unity. "In particular, we wish to aid the family-operated farm through measures to increase its efficiency and its income, so that the independent farmer may efficiently compete with corporation farming and may remain the dominant producer in American agriculture.

"Furthermore, we must raise the living standards of those who work in industrialized agriculture for sweated wages under inhuman conditions, today the most exploited segment of the labor force."

The repeated claims of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson that he is "guiding the American farm economy toward prosperity" were ridiculed.

"If the policies of the Eisenhower Administration are not quickly reversed," the convention warned, "family-type farming as the basic pattern of American agriculture will be destroyed."





Vital work was performed by the convention's Appeals Committee. Second from left, in front row, is Alex Rose, group's chairman.



Prohibition drive was scored by Karl Feller, the Brewery Workers' president.



George Fairchild of Building Service Employees took hobby along to the convention hall. He made some first-rate shots.



Director of Research Stanley H. Ruttenberg spent many hours with the resolutions group.



Visitor at meet was Claude Jodoin, head of labor in Canada.

Gordon Freeman, president of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, served as secretary of the convention's Committee on the Constitution.



Joe Springer was the delegate representing the Train Dispatchers.



Building Trades Dept. delegate at conclave was Richard J. Gray.



E. C. Hallbeck was in the Post Office Clerks' delegation.

Peter McGavin (left), assistant to President Meany, chats with Peter Schoemann of Plumbers, who was elected to an AFL-CIO vice-presidency.







President Meany presents the convention's gifts of Steuben glassware to fraternal delegates from Britain and Canada.



George Lynch of the Pattern Makers spoke against expulsion of the Teamsters Union.



AFL-CIO Assistant Organizing Director John Schreier talked with many delegates.

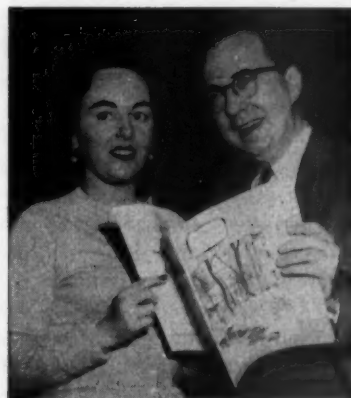
To Paul Phillips, president of the Papermakers and Paperworkers, went a place on the Executive Council.



Present at an AFL-CIO convention for initial time was delegation of Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, which affiliated recently. First man at left side of table is W. P. Kennedy, the president.



George Weaver was there. He is assistant chief of Civil Rights Department.



Patricia Donnelly of Lithographers showed union's magazine to Al Zack, AFL-CIO's public relations director.

Daily press problems were subject of chat between Joseph Collis (left) of Newspaper Guild and Tom Dunwody, president of the Printing Pressmen.



A funny episode at ICFTU's Tunis congress was recalled by Arne Geijer (left), new ICFTU head, and Jim Carey. President Geijer is Swedish.



Tili Ahmed of Tunisia thanked U.S. labor for supporting the cause of liberty in North Africa. His speech was in French.



A. Philip Randolph, the president of the Sleeping Car Porters, discussed the African training program. He's on AFL-CIO Council.

## Convention Hears ICFTU Leaders and Unionists From Many Lands

THE FREE trade union movements of the world cannot stand aside in the fight between communism and democracy in the underdeveloped nations, President Arne Geijer of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions told the AFL-CIO convention.

"We must quickly mobilize our resources to help free trade unions establish a foothold and through them help lay the foundation for economic and political democracy around the world," Mr. Geijer said.

"If democracy can win the fight against poverty and against the very low living standards in these areas, it will have delivered a powerful blow against the source of Communist influence."

Mr. Geijer paid tribute to the "utmost importance" of American labor's role in the ICFTU.

"I believe I can say that the crucial role of American trade unions in the field of international labor affairs is even greater than most of you yourselves realize," he declared.

General Secretary J. H. Oldenbroek of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions thanked the convention for rendering "great service to the trade union movement of the whole world" by its actions regarding unions demonstrably under domination by corrupt influences.

"Do not think that interest in these cases was limited to your country," he declared. "The whole world has been writing and speaking about them, and you have given an answer that is worthy of the AFL-CIO and the whole international trade union movement."

Donald MacDonald, secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Labor Congress, discussed the "unity of equals" that has nurtured friendly relations between the American and Canadian labor movements. They face similar economic problems and often encounter similar employer resistance, he said, but with the movements in both countries united, they can be expected in the future to achieve more benefits for more members.

The unity between U.S. and Canadian trade unionism becomes "increasingly necessary," Mr. MacDonald declared, because of the growing challenge presented by Soviet Russia. The common task, he told the convention, is to give "real life and meaning" to the fundamental values that the Communists lack despite their material accomplishments.

Joe O'Hagen, general secretary of the Blast Furnace-

French visitors were snapped with President Meany.



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men's Union, and Wilfred B. Beard, chairman of the Committee on Education of the British Trades Union Congress, extended fraternal greetings on behalf of the British labor movement. They were the fraternal delegates to the parley from the TUC.

Reviewing the status of the labor movement in Britain, Delegate O'Hagen said that at the moment "there is tension in industrial relations which has not existed for a long time" because of inflation and the efforts of workers to keep pace with the rising cost of living.

He also discussed operations of the National Health Service, now ten years old, and outlined some of the improvements which the trade unions are seeking.

Delegate Beard analyzed Britain's relations with the European free market area recently formed by six countries on the Continent. British workers are determined to be protected against possible unemployment growing out of any new setup, he reported.

The work of the Trades Union Congress in British colonies, he said, has been directed toward the ending of imperialism. Turning to communism, he related that the Communists never were a vital force in Britain and said "their influence is now less than ever."

### MEXICAN LAUDS U.S. LABOR

Rosendo Salazar Alamo, honorary secretary of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), hailed the United States, and particularly its labor movement, "as a beacon light for the civilization of the Western world." The people of the American family of nations, he declared, "will never be trampled under the boots of totalitarian communism."

Several score distinguished labor leaders from other countries, among nearly 400 foreign visitors, were introduced from the platform during the six days of the convention. A number of them spoke briefly or delivered messages of greetings from their organizations.

Willi Richter, president of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB), wryly told the delegates that unions in West Germany are under attack much as they are in the United States.

"The employers claim that we are responsible for price increases on account of our wage demands," he explained. "The employers demand from us a wage stop, but they do not guarantee a price stop. Real wages are time and again reduced through renewed price increases."

Others who spoke were Ignazio Gonzales Tellechea, president of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) and international relations secretary of the Cuban Confederation of Labor; General Secretary Luis Alberto Monge of ORIT; Tom Yates, president of the British Trades Union Congress, and Sir Vincent Tewson, the TUC's general secretary.

In addition, the convention heard President Hisashi Kageyama of the All-Japan Seamen's Union; Tahieb Bouazza of the Moroccan Miners Union, one of his



Visitors from Asia were interested onlookers. Convention had almost 400 foreign guests.

country's delegates to the United Nations General Assembly; General Secretary Tili Ahmed of the Trade Union Congress of Tunisia, Guilherme Buch of the Brazilian Commercial Workers Union and Assistant Secretary Francisco Taboada of the Peruvian Federation of Labor.

Others who delivered remarks were Antonio Mihura Avila of the Uruguayan Sugar Workers Union, General Secretary Francisco Perez Leiros of the Argentine Municipal Workers and Albin Magail of the European Sleeping Car Porters and Pullman Stewards.

Among those introduced were President Claude Jodoin and Executive Vice-President Gordon Cushing of the Canadian Labor Congress; General Secretary Arthur Ochwada of the Kenya Federation of Labor, the first African trade unionist to reach this country under the AFL-CIO training program, and Ramon Solis Reano of the Peruvian Textile Workers Union, first trainee under the AFL-CIO program for Latin American union leaders.

### Congress Urged to Study Impact of Automation

CONGRESS was urged by the AFL-CIO convention to begin a continuing study of the social and economic impact of automation and the new technology. A resolution called for Congress to provide funds to government agencies so they can study and report the facts and guide Congress toward maintaining full employment and economic health.

Unions were advised to continue their efforts to press for effective contracts and legislative programs to minimize hardships to individuals and communities from changing technological techniques.

"The convention reaffirms the determination of the AFL-CIO to support all efforts that will enable the economy to sustain economic growth and full employment and that will insure a fair sharing, among all the American people, of the fruits of technological progress," the resolution approved by the delegates said.





The Resolutions Committee was assigned more work than any other committee of the convention.

## Labor's Stand on Investigations

TEXT OF A RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ATLANTIC CITY CONVENTION

IN A STATEMENT adopted at its meeting in Miami, Florida, in January, 1957, the Executive Council set forth the basic principles underlying the position of the AFL-CIO toward investigations of improper activities in the labor and management fields.

The AFL-CIO, the statement made clear, "is pledged by both its constitution and by fundamental principles of trade union morality to keep the labor movement free from any taint of corruption." The forthright action of the AFL-CIO convention in expelling several of its largest affiliates because of corruption is a clear and tangible demonstration of our determination to effectively implement this pledge.

The Executive Council statement, while recognizing the prime responsibility of the labor movement to deal with this problem, also recognizes that "appropriate agencies of government and the public have rights, obligations and responsibilities in eliminating racketeering and corruption from all segments of American life." Their investigations must, of course, be conducted "fairly and objectively, without fear or favor, and in keeping with due-process concepts firmly imbedded in the tradition and Constitution of our great country."

Accordingly, the Executive Council pledged:

"It is the firm policy of the AFL-CIO to cooperate fully with all proper legislative committees, law enforcement agencies and other public bodies seeking fairly and objectively to keep the labor movement or any other segment of our society free from any and all corrupt influences."

After the issuance of this statement by the Executive Council, the United States Senate established the Senate Select Committee (McClellan Committee) to Investigate Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Fields.

This committee has held a number of hearings which have served to bring to light certain criminal and corrupt influences that have fastened themselves upon a segment of the labor movement and some sections of management in America.

The existence of these criminal and corrupt influences in unions has brought damage to our movement. Where the committee has conducted its investigations with objectivity, the committee has served a useful purpose and has performed a necessary task. In saying this, we do not, of course, thereby endorse either the procedures of the committee or the apparent anti-labor bias of some of its members. In order to perform its function properly, the committee must exercise a high degree of objectivity and fairness. The committee, we regret, has not met this standard.

We view with concern the practice which the committee has indulged in of trying individuals in the press and by television; we deplore the practice of repeating questions for publicity purposes to which it is known that no answer will be made; we do not condone the issuance of announcements to the press, in advance of hearings, of the conclusions to be drawn from testimony not yet heard; we do not approve the publication of evidence obtained in violation of federal law.

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We believe that it is possible for a legislative committee to conduct an effective investigation without hunting for headlines. A striking demonstration of this was afforded by the methods and procedures followed by the Subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee to Investigate Welfare and Pension Funds, headed by Senator Paul H. Douglas, during the Eighty-fourth Congress.

The operations of this committee were carried on in an atmosphere of objectivity and fairness. The facts the Douglas subcommittee brought to light have been the basis of actions taken by the AFL-CIO in four of its eight recent ethical practices cases. Its legislative proposals, based on the result of its investigations, were constructive and germane to the purposes of the committee. As embodied in the Douglas bill, they have had and continue to have the full and wholehearted support of the AFL-CIO.

In addition to the defects in its procedures, the Senate Select Committee has permitted public faith and confidence in its fairness to be undermined by allowing several members to use the committee as a public platform to serve their own anti-labor and political purposes.

For example, some members of the Senate committee, notably Senators Goldwater of Arizona, Curtis of Nebraska and Mundt of South Dakota, have demonstrated repeatedly in their public statements their incapability of discharging their duties and responsibilities as committee members fairly and impartially.

These Senators have sought to use the processes of the committee for anti-labor propaganda, to harass clean and honest unions, and to aid anti-labor employers who have been found guilty of unfair labor practices through the due processes of the National Labor Relations Board.

The labor movement does not intend to be intimidated by these tactics. We challenge the objectivity of these Senators who, by their words and their deeds, have demonstrated their anti-labor bias and have forfeited any claim of being interested or capable of conducting themselves in a spirit of fairness or objectivity.

The committee has also tended to become a forum for committee members to expound and develop pet anti-labor legislative proposals having little or nothing to do with the legitimate purposes or interests of the committee. For example, the chairman of the committee, Senator McClellan of Arkansas, has suggested a national "right to work" law.

Other members have suggested consideration of proposals to subject unions to the anti-trust laws or to impose further restrictions on political activities of labor unions.

Certain of these proposals raise questions of broad national policy having implications which relate to basic democratic rights of citizenship and free speech and which are therefore not properly within the jurisdiction of this committee. These proposals are unrelated to the problem of labor or management corruption but are designed to weaken responsible unions and thereby render them less capable of keeping their own house in order.

Also, a disproportionately small amount of the committee's time and interest has been devoted to the study of improper practices in management. Serious instances of improper and corrupt influences in management, by which management has sought to frustrate union organization or to obtain "sweetheart contracts" denying justice to the employees, have already been revealed.

Other manifold instances of management corruption and improper practices have not even been explored. But unfortunately the committee has not shown the same enthusiasm and determination to expose wrongdoings in management. There is more than one Nathan Shefferman operating in the labor-management field, and not all of them have connections with the Teamsters Union. Their activities should be a matter of prime concern to the committee. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its adherence to the principles set forth in the Executive Council's resolution of January, 1957, and pledges to redouble its efforts to do everything possible to eliminate all forces of crime, racketeering and corruption within the trade union movement.

We must, however, call attention to the public and to Congress that corruption within the American labor movement is but a small part of the overall problem of corruption in the whole of our society.

While acknowledging the wrongdoings of a small minority in the leadership of a few unions, we believe that objectivity requires the recognition that in a society overemphasizing material wealth more corruption will be found in business and in industry and that as a free people we must be concerned with this problem as well as corruption in the labor movement.

The trade union movement is devoted to human services and must of necessity be motivated by higher ideals and moral standards. We are therefore determined to meet the challenge of corruption within the labor movement in order to keep the labor movement dedicated to the ideals of human service.

We pledge our full cooperation with all proper investigations of criminal and corrupt influences in labor or management which are pursued with objectivity and fairness.

We express deep concern that the Senate Select Committee may allow itself to be used for political retaliation and as a forum for the display of anti-union propaganda.

We deplore any effort by members of the committee to use its investigations as a basis for legislative proposals designed to weaken all unions, rather than eliminate corruption.

We alert the committee against the lack of fairness and objectivity in its procedures.

### **URGE NATIONAL F.D.R. HOLIDAY**

THE BIRTHDAY of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was President of the United States from 1933 to his death in 1945, would be a national holiday if a recommendation of the Atlantic City convention is carried out.

## Conclave Asks Good Homes for All

EVERY FAMILY is entitled to have a "decent" home, the second AFL-CIO convention declared. It adopted a broad program designed to put such homes within the reach of all American and called for a reversal of the recent sharp drop in the construction of new housing.

"The lag in housing construction has been a drag on the nation's economic growth," a resolution approved by the delegates said.

"Millions of Americans are still forced to live in dilapidated, overcrowded slum tenements and hovels because they cannot afford decent homes within their means. Housing conditions of minority families are particularly bad.

"Our national housing administration has failed to measure up to the challenge of the nation's housing problem. Only a bold, imaginative program, geared to the country's total housing requirements, will stem the tide of spreading blight."

The convention spelled out the following goals for national housing policies and programs:

►Construction of at least 2,000,000 new units a year.

►Assurance that a major proportion of the new homes will be within the reach of families with low and middle incomes.

►A new and expanded low-rent public housing program with construction of at least 200,000 a year.

►Legislation protecting home buyers and owners on purchase and repair agreements and permitting lapses of mortgage payments under guarantee programs in case of illness, unemployment and other emergencies.

►Legislation establishing a national mortgage corporation to make available low-interest, long-term loans for construction of cooperative, non-profit rental and sales housing for moderate-income families at a rate of at least 500,000 units a year.

►Consideration by unions of investment of their funds, properly safeguarded, in cooperative housing projects.

►Liberal financial aid to builders for construction of good rental housing within the means of moderate-income families.

►Legislation permitting rural families to obtain good homes within their means and establishing safeguards assuring decent housing for migrant farm workers.

►A program of special housing to meet the particular requirements of the elderly. Affiliated unions were urged to help sponsor and finance projects of this type.

►Elimination of discrimination and segregation in housing by federal, state and local legislation.

►Reversal of the "tight money" policy and adoption of a national fiscal policy which would assure adequate financing of residential housing.

►Expansion of the urban redevelopment and slum clearance programs.

►Adoption of sound metropolitan area development and growth programs.

►Continued support of the National Housing Conference by the AFL-CIO and affiliated organizations.

►Cooperation of affiliated unions and central bodies with the AFL-CIO Housing Committee in working toward realization of the AFL-CIO housing program.



Each day opened with an invocation. Clergy of the nation's faiths took part.



Jack Livingston listened to Shipbuilding Workers' Ross Blood on industry's situation.



The Fire Fighters' delegation. Second from left is late President John Redmond. He was stricken and died in convention city hospital. At the extreme right is William D. Buck, the union's new president.



Molders' President Chester Sample gets a light from Carl Griepentrog, Allied Industrial Workers' leader.



John W. Livingston (left), an auto worker by trade, joined Leonard Woodcock of the UAW.



Joseph Lewis of the Union Label Trades crowns Kathleen Kinnick, winner of union secretary contest.

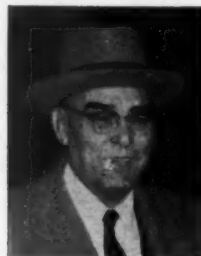
J. Albert Woll (left), AFL-CIO's general counsel, and Tom Harris, attorney at AFL-CIO headquarters.



This picture shows most of the delegates of the Brewery Workers. On platform when picture was made was Karl F. Feller, the union's president.



James McDevitt, COPE's director, and Secretary Schnitzler were snapped just outside the vast hall where the drama-packed convention was conducted.



Tom Carroll, head of Way Employees.



B. A. Gritta of the Metal Trades Dept.



The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' delegation was on the job at every convention session.



CWA President Joseph Beirne posed proudly with ladies of the telephone union.



The veteran Harry Bates headed Bricklayers' group.

## At the Convention



Meat Cutters' Pat Gorman told of his role in Teamsters' case.



Joseph Curran, NMU president, was again named Council member.



Al Hayes of Machinists. They had big delegation.



Louisiana unionists' hurricane relief work was hailed by General Alfred Gruenther, president of the Red Cross.



Exhibits outside the convention chamber dealt with problems which concern workers and their families.





For audiences across the land newsreel and TV crews recorded the most important occurrences.

Pete Terzick, editor of Carpenters' magazine, was elevated by ILPA. He's the new proxy.



AFL-CIO Vice-President Charles MacGowan, former president of Boilermakers, was again picked for post on Council.



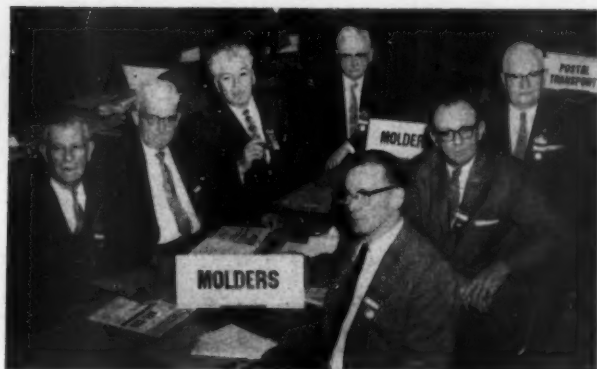
George Meany and Claude Jodoin (center), head of the Canadian Labor Congress, were jovial as Gordon Cushing of Canada had a guest badge pinned to his lapel.



Dave Dubinsky (extreme right), ILGWU president, is making a point as associates give him their attention.



President Dave McDonald and the United Steelworkers. The delegation was active throughout the convention. Everyone enjoyed enormously a party this union gave.



Contributions to success of parley were made by the Molders' delegates.



Elaine Almeida was delegation member of Glass Bottle Blowers.

Delegates and guests listened intently as question of expelling tainted unions was argued pro and con by able speakers.



The boardwalk route was used by many between convention site and various city hotels.



Joe Glazer (left) of Rubber Workers studied resolution as Al Barkan of COPE stood by.



A record number of visitors from other nations attended second AFL-CIO convention.

Vice-President William C. Birthright (left) met with the members of the Rules Committee. He was the chairman.



Representatives of AFL-CIO postal unions sought and received wage increase backing.

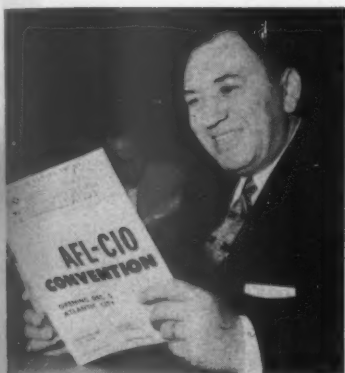




Delegates of the Commercial Telegraphers. President W. L. Allen is at extreme right.



Representatives of the Textile Workers Union of America. First man, right side of table, is President Bill Pollock.



President Max Greenberg of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union did a little reading.



Leon Ames, president, Screen Actors Guild, visited the convention.



Resolutions Committee had a heavy load. Chairman was George M. Harrison (left). David J. McDonald served as secretary.



Connecticut's Mitchell Sviridoff conversed with V. H. Williams of State Labor Council in Arkansas.



The Retail Clerks won backing in their fight with Montgomery Ward.



The Firemen and Oilers were represented by an alert delegation. Second from right is Anthony Matz, the president of the union.



The Navy Department's exhibit had strong appeal for John Grogan, president of Shipbuilding Union.

The delegation representing the Carpenters and Joiners, one of the largest unions in the nation, was led by President M. A. Hutcheson, third from the right on the near side of the table.



Arnold Zander of State, County and Municipal Employees.



Harry Sayre of Papermakers and Paperworkers was an active participant.



Serafino Romualdi is AFL-CIO's Latin American representative.



Interest of UAW's Roy Reuther focused on political education.

The conclave's often dramatic proceedings were followed closely by delegation of the Laborers.





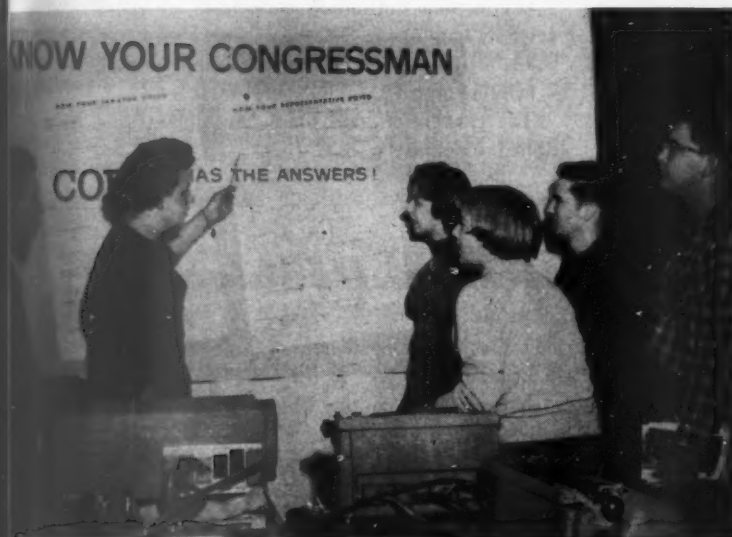


The Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen recently affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Their delegation was led by President H. E. Gilbert (third from the right).

COPE resolution was of particular interest to Jack Kroll, who used to be co-director of COPE.



Central Labor Council of Greater Washington was represented by the veteran Clem Preller.



When local high school students visited the COPE booth at the convention they learned that a member of Congress is revealed by his votes on bills.

The Utility Workers were led by President Joseph Fisher (left) and Secretary William Pachler (second from left).



Packinghouse Workers' table on convention floor was visited by AFL-CIO Organizing Director Livingston. President Ralph Helstein is at the extreme left.

## T-H Law and Biased NLRB Are Hit

SHARP LANGUAGE was used by the 1957 convention of the AFL-CIO in criticism of the Taft-Hartley Act and the attitude and actions of the present National Labor Relations Board.

A resolution condemned the manner in which a majority of the NLRB is administering the Taft-Hartley Act. The delegates expressed resentment at the anti-union bias frequently shown by the Board and at its usurpation of authority. Removal of unfair sections of the law was demanded.

The convention warned that "reactionary employers, not content with having the law and the Board stacked in their favor, want to go even farther" by using McClellan committee disclosures to ram through anti-union provisions "which not even the Eightieth Congress could be induced to write into the Taft-Hartley Act."

The NLRB, "now overwhelmingly staffed by appointees of the present national Administration," was charged with going beyond the scope of the act "in sanctioning union-breaking and in allowing employers to flout their obligation to bargain collectively."

The resolution called the act's Section 14(b) "an open invitation to the states to pass so-called 'right to work' laws. \* \* \* In disregard of the principle of fairness, it at the same time forbids the states to be more liberal than Taft-Hartley. This one-sided invitation to the states to be anti-union must be repealed.

"Nor are we impressed with the position of a Secretary of Labor who, while purporting to oppose 'right to work' laws, maintains a timid silence on Section 14(b)."

The NLRB was castigated for making changes in the Taft-Hartley Act which Congress has refused to write. Among the listed "anti-union amendments" to the act made by the Board were:

- ▶ Sharp reductions in its own jurisdiction.

- ▶ New restrictions on picketing.

- ▶ Permitting anti-union statements of coercive character by employers.

- ▶ Allowing captive audiences to employers.

- ▶ Outlawing of the "hot cargo" clause.

The convention said these "examples could be multiplied indefinitely."

## Council Gets Jurisdiction Problems

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES problems were referred to the Executive Council by the AFL-CIO convention with the recommendation that a thirteen-man committee work toward "ultimate solution" of the conflict between the Building and Construction Trades Department and the Industrial Union Department.

Both Departments submitted resolutions outlining their positions and asking for solutions of the problem.

The Council was also asked to continue its efforts to resolve problems arising from raids on the membership of one union by another. The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement was endorsed and a resolution proposed that the agreement be recognized by the NLRB and state and local labor relations bodies.

The whole touchy question of jurisdictional conflicts will be given renewed study by a committee headed by President George Meany, with special emphasis on the problems in the doubtful areas between the positions agreed upon by the two Departments.

Mr. Meany has defined this doubtful area as involving "such work as alterations, major repairs and relocation of existing facilities, changeovers and other types of maintenance work." He proposed that decisions in this shadow area be made on the basis of "established past practices on a plant, area or industry basis."

A joint committee from the two Departments failed to reach agreement on the problem a year ago. A six-man committee named by President Meany was expand-

ed to its present membership of thirteen by Mr. Meany in February of 1957.

It was this committee which reported during the summer that it had achieved some progress along general lines but had encountered difficulty in the doubtful areas.

It suggested the establishment of some permanent machinery to settle as many of the disputes as possible, although it failed to reach agreement on a firm method of arbitrating all of the conflicts.

The committee proposed that the AFL-CIO name to its staff persons suggested by the Industrial Union and Building and Construction Trades Departments who would form two-man teams under President Meany's direction to make on-the-spot adjustments of disputes.

### PROHIBITION OPPOSED

OPPOSITION to "any and all" prohibition laws was voiced by the second AFL-CIO convention.

The delegates adopted a resolution submitted by the Brewery Workers which noted that prohibition forces are again working to restore "noble experiment" laws. If these forces were not checked, the resolution warned, the evils of prohibition days would return and an industry that employs many would be destroyed.

National prohibition in the United States, the resolution said, "created the gangster and the racketeer" in the Twenties and led to the corruption of youth.

# President Meany's Keynote Address

TWO YEARS AGO in the city of New York, the two national trade union centers then in existence merged into one united trade union center, thus ending twenty years of division in the American trade union movement and bringing 135 national and international unions, representing 15,000,000 workers, into one central national organization. This was the culmination of many months of tedious, patient conference negotiations by men who I am convinced, from both sides of the table, believed that unity was imperative in order to protect the vital interests of the workers we represent and contribute to the welfare of the nation in which we live.

As I was convinced then, I am still convinced of the sincerity, good faith and high principle that went into those negotiations that brought about that merger.

We went through that convention with rather mixed feelings. Yes, there was a feeling of elation that we had ended the years of division. We had high hopes and aspirations for the future, for the things that we might do to carry out the objectives and purposes of our movement and do better, if you please, than we had done before.

But there was also a feeling of heavy responsibility, knowing full well of the obstacles that lay in our path. I can say to you today, however, that those in positions of trust and responsibility in this organization were completely aware in 1955 of the many complex and difficult problems that lay ahead. We knew without question that we had not forged the perfect instrument to carry out our program.

We knew that which we had brought into being was, like everything else created by human hands, far from perfect, but we went into this merger and carried on from 1955 with the determination to eliminate from our structure and wipe out any obstacles that lie in the path of success. Of course, mainly we felt that these obstacles were in the field of relations between the various segments of the AFL-CIO. We knew that we had done our best, in keeping with the spirit of the trade union movement, in keeping with the ideals and traditions laid down by those who went before us, to build this structure, but we knew without question that we did not have nor had we achieved perfection.

During the two years which have elapsed, I can assure you that we encountered all the difficulties and all of the problems that we anticipated would lie in our way at that time. Yes, every problem, every difficulty that we had reason to expect would lie in our path—we encountered all of them and many, many more difficulties that we could not at that time foresee.

I can say to you quite frankly that the Executive Council and your officers have met all these problems. We make no claim by any means that we have solved the problems, but we feel that we have made progress, that

we have met these problems in the same spirit that motivated those who brought about the merger two years ago, and with consistent adherence to the high ideals and principles that went into the merger.

So, we meet here today, just two years later, to review our experiences of the past two years, for the purpose of using whatever knowledge we gained so that we can plan ahead and turn our faces to the future better equipped to meet our future problems because of our past experience.

But I think we must remember that we are not meeting here today in a vacuum. No group of American citizens, in fact no group of free men and women anywhere in the world, can meet concerned only with their own selfish problems. All of our actions, all of our thoughts here today, meeting as trade unionists charged with the responsibility of directing and preserving the interests of millions of other citizens, all of our actions and thoughts must be conditioned by the overall central problem that confronts all lovers of freedom in our country and in every other free country of the world.

We cannot approach our problems solely as trade unionists, as much as we would like to, as much as we would like to say, well, we have enough troubles with our own problems and within our own ranks, that we can't be bothered with anything else. We cannot meet



Members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates and civic leaders were on platform as President Meany delivered keynote speech.





Mayor Altman proved quite droll in extending Atlantic City's official welcome to AFL-CIO.

without a constant thought and without being constantly cognizant of the central and overwhelming fact of our times, the fact before which all other matters fade. Everything that we do, our hopes, our ideals, our aspirations, our future—yes, our very lives—must be conditioned by this central fact, and for us here in America it represents the No. 1 problem of our day, the problem of all free people.

And very definitely it is the present-day danger in which we find ourselves as we look upon the very positive evidence of the great advances made by the Soviet Union in scientific and technological progress. Yes, progress which indicates without any question that the Soviets today definitely have the lead over the free world in development of the devastating weapons of mass destruction.

### WE MUST NOT PANIC

We must not run away from this fact, nor must we panic or become hysterical. We must face it. Soviet possession and development of nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missiles pose an ominous threat to each and every one of us as individual citizens in our country. Let us not forget that our nation, of necessity, whether it is our will or not, is the No. 1 target of those who would substitute dictatorial tyranny for the free way of life.

Two years ago when we met in New York many in the Western world were being taken in by the so-called Soviet new look in foreign relations, by Moscow's propaganda about peaceful coexistence, by Soviet readiness and willingness to achieve an agreement on international disarmament. Yes, many were taken in by the purported trend toward liberalism within the Communist world and even their supposed willingness to ease up a little in their grip on the captive nations.

All of this propaganda, we realize now, was for the purpose of dulling the vigilance of the free world, slackening of our defense measures if that could be brought

about—yes, to contribute to the thinking that called for cuts by Congress in our defense appropriations. In short, all this propaganda was for the purpose of having the free world drop its guard.

While talking willingness to disarm and accusing the United States of warlike intentions, Moscow was systematically and energetically stepping up its rearmament, streamlining and strengthening its war machine and sparing neither effort nor money to promote scientific and technological advances.

It concentrated on designing and perfecting long-range missiles and thermonuclear war weapons. All of this is now demonstrated by the launching of earth-circling satellites, and all of this now a definite indication that Russia will soon be in the production of an intercontinental ballistic missile which could seriously threaten our very existence as a nation.

This is no phantom danger we face when we face the advocates of world communism dominated by Moscow. We are not facing some abstract altruistic formula or some vague blueprint for Utopia. We face a militant ideology geared to war, continuous war with any and all means, against the free democratic way of life.

### DICTATORSHIP VERSUS FREEDOM

The present-day world crisis is not a conflict between ideological abstractions; it is a conflict between democracy which, despite all its weaknesses stands for peace and freedom, and dictatorship, despite all its pretenses, that stands for war and despotism.

In this connection let us ask ourselves a question. Suppose it was Sweden, India, Brazil, Australia or Great Britain that had surprised the world with a demonstration of such great scientific and technological progress as would be indicated by their ability to send large earth-circling satellites into outer space. Of course, if any of these countries had done this, we would have been just as surprised as we were when the Soviets came up with this outstanding achievement.

Many of us might have wished it was our country which had been first in this field, but would we be unhappy or, might I say, fearful about our future because of this? If this were an achievement by Sweden, India, Brazil, Australia or Britain, no, we would not have been unhappy or fearful because these are not totalitarian, militaristic powers like Communist Russia, geared to the enslavement of the entire world. These countries, unlike Russia, are dedicated to peace and freedom.

If there were any doubts in our minds when we met two years ago as to the character of the threat that we faced from Soviet imperialism, evidence that has accumulated in the past two years should remove these doubts. During this time we have seen Soviet attempts to foment war in the Middle East by supplying arms to a dictator in Egypt. We have seen its threats against Turkey, its constant propaganda against the United States as having imperialistic designs on the



Arab nations. We have seen its actions in the Algerian situation, its representatives in the French Assembly voting with the Socialists for a get-tough policy in Algeria and its other representatives in Algeria working with the Nationalists' resistance movement.

We have seen its brutal actions in crushing the Hungarian people, who in no way represented an economic, political or military threat to the Soviet Union, but who merely desired to coexist peacefully with their neighbors. In this action we have seen thousands upon thousands of young Hungarians deported to the slave camps Soviet tanks and firepower. We have seen tens of thousands of young Hungarians deported to the slave camps of Siberia and many more tens of thousands forced to flee from their homeland into voluntary exile.

We have also seen the rapid transformation from the collective leadership and the de-Stalinization policy proclaimed by the Twentieth Party Congress in February of 1956 to the one-man control of the entire Soviet economy and war machine by the new Stalin in the person of Nikita Khrushchev. Make no mistake about it; this present situation demands of America that it recognize clearly and unmistakably the menace to our way of life in the rapidly mounting power of the Soviet dictatorship.

The task before us—before our nation and ourselves—is as clear as it is urgent. We must be unsparing in our will, in our efforts to build the political, economic, social and military unity and strength of all the free people of the world. Only by developing such unity and strength to the point where we will have the power and the will to meet and deter aggression can we look forward safely to preserving world peace.

Only by the free world developing such unity and strength can mankind be spared the horror of a total hydrogen war and perhaps suicide for all humanity. Everything we do as a people, yes, everything we do as individuals here in the United States should be directed and dedicated to this one overall, vital purpose, which is

to meet the most outstanding danger in the history of our nation.

What, therefore, is our special task as trade unionists, as representatives of American workers, as we enter upon our second convention? What must we do to carry out the very simple purpose of bringing the greatest benefit to the workers we represent? What must we do as the representatives of 15,000,000 workers, who also represent perhaps in a way their husbands and their wives and their children, their families? What contribution can we make to the thinking that goes into our nation's policy of relations with the other nations of the world? What thoughts, what ideals and what traditions and principles do we feel should go into that policy, which I am sure we can agree should represent the thinking of the people, all the people, and not just those in positions of responsibility in our diplomatic or administrative posts?

### SUFFICIENT STRENGTH TO DETER AGGRESSION

First of all, we must awaken the American people. We must see to it that the American people realize this danger. We must also see to it that nothing should stand in the way of our country's achieving a military posture strong and determined enough to deter aggression.

No big business now. No big business domination can we afford today. It may be all right at times in the history of a republic such as ours to have a change, yes, a change in the political complexion, in the executive branch, and perhaps even a change at times in the philosophical approach to some of our special problems. Under that system in peacetime I guess we could afford an administration dominated and officered by big business. But that's too expensive a luxury today. We can't afford it.

No time do we have now to carry on further experimentation under the trickle-down theory, under which



This photo shows a part of the press room. Correspondents filed 100,000 words a day. Press, radio and television corps was one of largest ever to cover a labor convention. Reporters, in a resolution of their own, hailed the 'wonderful assistance' given them.



Al Rohan of Pressmen assumed this pose as a key event unfolded.



Labor-religion dinner was chaired by John Ramsay of the USWA.



From Buffalo came Bill Fleete, top officer of the Switchmen's Union.

the big corporations will wax fat enough so that enough flows down to take care of all the rest of it. No time to make a fetish of balancing the budget, no time to make budget-balancing our No. 1 objective.

One hydrogen bomb, which can be thrown at any of our major coastal cities from a submarine a few hundred miles away, with no question about accuracy in hitting the target—one hydrogen bomb can destroy millions of our people. That is not an exaggeration. Let that happen and I submit to you that a balanced budget at that time would be a meaningless achievement.

Yes, maybe it will be good to reduce taxes in a campaign year, and we, like all citizens, like relief from taxes. But the American people must take the position that there is no sacrifice too costly, no sacrifice that we cannot and should not make to protect our security as a nation, and everything we do must be measured against that security.

Labor has consistently said—and, of course, labor, frankly, has always been ahead of the rest of the nation in placing a practical assessment on these problems—labor has consistently said, "We want tax reduction, but we do not want one single cent of reduction anywhere at the cost of any phase of our national security. Our national security must and should always come first."

Then, too, we must use our influence and whatever prestige we have to see to it that never again will we allow a short-sighted, niggardly policy to hold back progress in the field of scientific and technological research. Yes, we must devote a great deal of our attention to building up our educational system, encouraging our scientists to move forward, to make our educational system more inclusive, to make it possible, if you please, by the use of public funds, for the development of our most promising young students regardless of their personal economic status.

We must see to it that there is no price tag put on these matters of supreme importance. There is no price too high to pay for the preservation of national security and the individual freedom of our people, no sacrifice too painful to assure the survival of our country and the other nations of the free world. As a responsible

element in the community, labor, I am sure, will accept its share of the burdens necessary to bring this about. Yes, I am quite sure we will do more than our share.

Then we must see to it that democracy has complete and full meaning and that it applies equally to all of the citizens of our nation. We cannot afford in these days, when millions and millions of people in Asia and Africa are awakening to a new sense of freedom, we cannot afford to stand before these millions as being lacking here at home in the application of the high principles of democracy for which we are supposed to stand.

We cannot afford to appear as a nation that allows some of its people to suffer indignities for being, as they say in the Irish ballad, for being what we are. We simply can't afford any more Little Rock incidents.

Then we have got a job to see to it that this narrow, silly opposition to the Supreme Court decision on school integration is wiped out, and we have got to educate, if you please, we have got to educate and take part in educating the people of the South so that they will know that this policy of race discrimination, which they claim they inherited and which they cherish, has international repercussions and that it is detrimental and injurious to the standing of the United States of America before all the world.

Yes, we must continue our efforts to make democracy a living thing here at home and to unceasingly and unrelentingly carry on the fight until the last vestige of race and religious bias is wiped from the face of our nation.

### ALL COLONIALISM IS BAD

Then we must use our influence with our government to the effect that our allies in the free world, those who proclaim and cherish freedom, break all ties with the colonialism of the past. If we say that modern-day colonialism under the so-called "people's democracies" of the Soviet Union is bad, then we say that colonialism still continued on from the Nineteenth Century is also bad, even if it is under the control of a nation that prides itself as being part and parcel of the free world.

Then we should try to impress our government to extend intelligent aid and technical assistance to greater and greater areas of the free world that are underdeveloped, and this aid should be extended without strings and without hope of immediate profit or, for that matter, future profit, because the improved conditions of the peoples in these areas is profit enough for us and for the rest of the world.

We must continue to do our share—yes, and more than our share—in cooperation with the United Nations specialized agencies, with the agencies that are to some degree unpublicized, like the World Health Organization, UNICEF and the High Commissioner's Office for Refugees, agencies that are doing a great deal of good in many parts of the world, agencies that justify the continued existence of the United Nations despite

the fact that very little progress is made on the political front. In these agencies the attitude of our country should reflect the fact that America is made up of a warm-hearted, generous people.

All of these things are needed to make America a real bastion of freedom and the hope of humanity at home and abroad.

Then we have our job as workers, our job as trade unionists to carry out our prime objective and purpose. Yes, we are a little different than many other groups, I am sure, that meet in this hall. We are dedicated to human values. We are dedicated to the idea of making people's lives better through the application of a sound policy of trade unionism that will assure the worker of a fair share in the wealth he helps to create.

Then we have our part to play in the community. We have long ago gotten over the idea that workers were a class apart. We are the community, and more and more we are playing a part—and a very vital part—in the community. Then we have to follow up in the field of protective legislation to protect the worker and safeguard him against adversity and injury.

There is not time to talk about all of these things, not time to talk about the past achievements in all of these fields and the things that we have got to face, but just to mention a few, there is our problem with automation; not to turn it back, not to stand in abject fear of it, but to see to it that it becomes a blessing and not a curse on humanity.

### FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-LABOR LAWS

Then there is our fight that goes on all the time against anti-labor legislation, "right to work" laws, against the organized and well-financed efforts of those who make a business of breaking down labor unions and labor standards. There must be efforts to improve social security, to bring about the creation of some sort of system under which all of the people of America would have available to them adequate medical care in all sorts of illness. We must further improve our housing situation and further eliminate slums, and continue our fight for greater federal aid to legislation and for better civil rights legislation.

We must also continue our efforts to solidify free labor, to build up the standards of workers all over the world, to turn back the threat of poverty through the instrumentalities of the ILO, through our membership in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and our membership in the ORIT, the Western Hemisphere branch of that organization.

Yes, it is our task to go out and organize the unorganized, despite the obstacles, despite the difficulties, despite the fact that we cannot come to this convention and tell you that we have had any great success in the past two years. Yes, there are obstacles and we know that, but we don't know the idea and we refuse to accept the idea of giving up the fight. So you see we have quite an ambitious program. All of these things and many

*Additional material on the second AFL-CIO convention will appear in the next issue of this magazine.*

more that I haven't mentioned we would like to do. It is quite obvious that to do these things, to do even a portion of them, to make even a little progress we need a strong, free, dedicated trade union movement. We need a union movement controlled by those whom it was set up to serve—a union movement that will not be diverted to other purposes, a movement not under political control, not under company domination, not under government control and not under underworld control.

I am not going into details attempting to rehash these problems. You know full well that none of us derives any pleasure in talking about them. We would like it much better if these problems weren't confronting us. But you also know full well that we can't delude ourselves or kid ourselves. We can't walk away from them and we can't wait for someone else to solve these problems for us. These are our problems.

We wrote a constitution in New York two years ago and we put into that constitution certain high principles which were part of the merger agreement, and we put them in there because we knew of the threats to our movement. We knew the dangers our movement faced. We knew that there were more than just the dangers from the outside, the dangers of the NAM and Fred Hartley and his ilk. We knew that we had things to guard against within our own house. So we wrote that constitution, and I say to you quite frankly we didn't know then that our action would be justified by events to the extent that it has.

We know, however, that this situation represents a threat to all of our achievements of the past. It represents a threat to our efficacy as a movement in the future. No one, as I say, likes to discuss this. No one enjoys sitting on the Ethical Practices Committee and working. But no one can deny that we do have this problem.

And let me say to you quite frankly, all this business that you read about deals, Meany says this and Meany said that—Meany says what the Executive Council says; Meany says what this convention says. And the record is there in the book distributed to all. It is a very, very simple record based on a very simple declaration in the constitution. It is all there. There are no deals. The only thing we have is the decision of this Council which



Convention Hall housed the history-making sessions.



will come to this convention for consideration and disposition.

Yes, we know that this has been used by the press. Sometimes I think some of these fellows get great enjoyment out of playing this up to make us look bad. Well, there is one comforting fact. We don't kid ourselves on one side of this picture nor on the other.

We know that this represents a very, very tiny minority of our unions.

We know we have every right to be proud of the officers of our unions, every right to be proud of our members as citizens of this great nation. Without question and without hesitation we will compare them with any other segment of the population of this great country.

So it is not with heads down or bowed, but it is with heads up and looking straight ahead that we are determined to see to it that that 99 per cent becomes 100 per

cent. We are not going to compromise with this evil or any other evil, because you just can't compromise with evil.

So there you have it, a big job. No small minority group now crying in the wilderness against oppression and ills, real or imaginary. You ladies and gentlemen represent a major segment of the population of this great country. You represent people in a group second to none in importance in peace and in war and in times of national crisis.

I haven't any doubt that this convention, as representative of 15,000,000 Americans, their wives, their husbands and their children, will measure up to the stern and vital demands of our times. Yes, I haven't any doubt that this convention will meet head-on and discharge fully and fairly its responsibilities to the workers we represent, to our neighbors here in America, and to the nation we are proud to serve.

## ***President Meany's Acceptance Speech***

TEXT OF REMARKS FOLLOWING PRESIDENT MEANY'S REELECTION

MY GOOD FRIEND AL HAYES, members of the Executive Council and delegates to this convention:

First may I express to Walter Reuther and Pete Schoemann my deep appreciation for the many nice things they said about me. I would like to show my appreciation to the delegates at the end of this long convention in which the attendance and the attention of the delegates have been really phenomenal. I imagine the best way I could do that would be to shut my mouth and sit down. Unfortunately, I have to follow custom.

I would like to say that two years ago when we brought the CIO and AFL together and we went through that very emotional experience in the city of New York, at the conclusion of that convention there was sort of a letdown. You took a look at things and saw them, I think, in perhaps a little better perspective than you did in the excitement that was attendant on that convention, and of course that came about because of the feeling of elation and happiness that we had ended the war in the American trade union movement.

But in the cold gray light of the morning after, as they say, I wondered if the war was really ended, and I came to the conclusion that we still had a long way to go. I still think we have a long way to go. However, I am by no means pessimistic. I think we have made a tremendous amount of progress.

I can say to you here quite frankly today that in the so-called "upper echelon," or let's call them "the twenty-nine dictators," the members of the Executive Council, the twenty-seven vice-presidents and the secretary and the president, there is no AFL, there is no CIO. That has disappeared.

We have made progress at the state level. We have

some disappointments. I am not going into the reasons that we were not able to bring about the merger of all of our state federations of labor. We have hit the two-thirds mark, which I think is pretty good, and I am quite sure that it will not be very long before we have functioning in every state a good, sound state body made up of the former state industrial councils of the CIO and the state federations of the AFL.

That, of course, is tremendously important. The state federations of labor play a tremendously important part in the work of the trade union movement in this country, far more important than their voting strength at the convention would indicate. However, that job has still got to be done.

A number of important things have been done at this convention. I am quite sure that you have heard enough of corruption and ethical practices, and I am not going to burden you with that subject any more, except to say that the important thing about it is that we have demonstrated that we are reluctant to throw people out of the house of labor; that we only do it when there is no other way, and that we do it in the full knowledge that it presents dangers to us, but with the complete conviction that in the long run labor will be better off for what we have done here this week.

As American citizens—and that we are before we consider ourselves trade unionists—we have a job to do. We have a job to see to it that we maintain the high standards of the American economy that we have learned to love; that we continue to prove to the rest of the world that through this democratic system, through this system under which we are free to work or not to work, under which we are free to make mistakes, if you please,



under which we are free to interpret, through the instrumentality of the trade union movement, we will further the thinking, the desires, the ideals and the purposes of the workers of this great country.

We know without question that only through the maintenance of free unions can this dynamic economy which we have here in the United States keep up its forward progress. Only through the maintenance of a high level of purchasing power can we produce the things that the people must have in order to maintain their standard of living.

It is almost trite to say it, but it is still true that there are not enough people in the \$10,000 class and up to buy all the automobiles, the washing machines, the radios, the televisions and the other good things of life that we can produce. There would not be many automobiles or washing machines or all these good things that we associate with the American way of life made if the consumption of these articles were confined to those in the so-called upper brackets.

Yes, we are proud of what the American trade union movement has achieved. We are proud of the fact that you can go through the small towns, the suburbs of our big cities where the people who work for wages live with their families, and see house after house with a television aerial, see every evidence of some modern comfort for these workers and their families. And we contend, without undue modesty, let me say, that the trade union movement is largely responsible for the maintenance of this high standard.

It is important from another point of view entirely apart from the material aspects and the impact on our daily lives. It is important to maintain this economy so that we can defend this way of life against those who believe in a totalitarian philosophy.

### STICK TO PURPOSES OF LABOR MOVEMENT

So our job is to stick to our knitting, stick to the simple purposes of the trade union movement—bring about and build on more achievements to the achievements of the past—and that must be done basically in the American old-fashioned way. You organize so that workers can collectively impress the fact on the employer that they are entitled to a fair share of the wealth produced by this system, by investment capital, management, employer and labor. We have no argument with the system. We just want our share because we know the system cannot continue to work unless we get our share.

So we sell this idea to those who have yet to feel the impact of trade unionism and the benefits that come from the application of the principles of our organization.

So let's go back to these first principles.

Yes, I know it has been difficult. We know it is difficult and we know the reasons for the difficulty. We know that we have an area in this country that is backward, backward in a good many ways—backward in its con-



Problem of runaway shipping is discussed by Harry O'Reilly (left) of the Maritime Trades Department, Morris Weisberger and Paul Hall.

cept of what is right, backward in its concept of what God intended when he made man.

They have yet to accept the concept of equality for all men. So they have to be educated as part of this process of building up the standards. That is one of the obstacles that stand in our way in organizing—and we are quite aware of it.

But I can say to you that, although our organizing drive has been slowed up—we don't deny that—we haven't given up the idea.

We still think that organizing the unorganized is the first and fundamental purpose of the trade union movement, that it is a prerequisite to doing anything to improve their conditions. You can't improve their conditions until you get them to know what it is all about and get them to work together with their fellow workers in seeing to it that their way of life is improved.

In that way we improve the standard of living, not only of the millions of people who hold membership in our unions but for the millions upon millions who are unorganizable, let us say, who are not responsive to organization—the employer, the banker, the local grocery man, the drugstore proprietor. Everything we do enhances the American way of life from their point of view as well as our own.

We have a responsibility to our members and to our nation and to our neighbors, even those who perhaps are still not convinced that there is anything good about a trade union—yes, even to the employers who, if we allowed them to go their own ways, would destroy the very system that has brought them profits and comforts in the past.

We have a great responsibility to humanity to keep this nation as the leader of the free world.

All of these things come right back to the simple, basic purpose. If we organize well, if we bargain well, we will build up the standards. From these built-up standards will flow the benefits to the community, to society as a whole, to the nation as a whole and, finally, to all free peoples in all parts of the world.

I am confident, as the result of this convention, as the result of the actions taken here, that we have the machinery of the trade union movement in good shape—that it is ready to move forward. It may not move as fast at all times as we would like it to move, but it will always move forward.

Thank you very much.

## Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler Responds

TEXT OF EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS FOLLOWING HIS REELECTION

PRESIDENT MEANY, delegates assembled in the closing moments of this historical convention:

I have heard a lot of nice things said, but I want to be very frank with you that in my own opinion they would have never have been possible if it were not for the help, the guidance and assistance of President Meany.

I can't forget the help that I have gotten from the members of the Executive Council during the past two years. In every instance when I called upon any one of them or any group of them, they responded, even though we know each has a job in his own right with his own international union. You certainly know what has gone on in the past two years of meetings of the Executive Council, and in every instance each of these men has responded to the call of American labor.

During this period as well the help of the headquarters staff and our attorneys has been of the greatest assistance. I suppose you have seen people running all around this convention hall and up and down off the platform. They have been the convention assistants who have contributed so much to making this convention run as smoothly as it did.

There is one observation I would like to make. It is just unfortunate that each and every one of you could not have had the opportunity to sit in the sessions of the Executive Council when they were called upon to deal with these grave problems that have confronted us. It is easy to see now that it took men of great courage to act the way they did.

It was the things that they did that have elevated this trade union movement to great and newer heights.

In talking about the six codes of ethical practices that have been adopted, I get to thinking of the many months of condemnation on the radio and television and in newspapers all over the country about this labor movement of ours. Then I find here in the last three weeks that the chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee, Senator McClellan, made a statement in which he asked the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce why they had not adopted codes of ethical practices for their membership like the AFL-CIO.

Senator Kennedy about three weeks ago in a speech asked the question: Why has not the American Bar Association adopted a code of ethical practices like the AFL-CIO? From this it appears that we have gone through the worst period and now find that the AFL-CIO is being held up as the new moral symbol in the United States.

I would think as you start wending your way homeward you will find a developing atmosphere throughout the country in which greater prestige and influence will be visited upon you because of this new stature of this labor movement of ours.

Most important of all will be finding that the workers who are not organized at the present time will be exhibiting a greater interest in what we may be able to do for them and will be joining us in greater numbers than ever before.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this great honor you have bestowed upon me, and I want you to feel that whatever life there is within me will be utilized in servicing you to the best of my ability.

## NEW BAKERY UNION MAKES GOOD PROGRESS

THIRTY-SIX locals of the expelled Bakery Workers Union have voted to affiliate with the new American Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union, which was chartered by the AFL-CIO following the adjournment of the recent Atlantic City convention of the united labor movement.

More than 35,000 workers belong to the locals which have broken away from the ousted organization headed by James G. Cross, now under indictment for embezzlement in Illinois.

The new AFL-CIO affiliate is led by Daniel E. Conway as acting president.

Honest bakers cheer issuance of charter. Membership is rising in new AFL-CIO union.

